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ABSTRACT

The agenda for the Social Science Education Consortium conference at Woods Hole (Massachusetts) was designed to continue a tradition of examining scholarship relative to the social sciences in K-12 education. The content focus for this volume, is political science, economics, and sociology. Following a "Foreword" (Matthew T. Downey; Joseph P. Stoltman), there are eight articles: (1) "A Dream Deferred: Shall We Reinvent the 'New Social Studies'" (Peter B. Dow); (2) "Politics Is Not a Dirty Word: Helping Students to Appreciate Democracy" (John R. Hibbing); (3) "Trends in Political Science as They Relate to Pre-College Curriculum and Teaching" (Richard G. Niemi); (4) "Fresh Ideas from Economics" (Donald R. Wentworth; Norris Peterson); (5) "Economics Instruction in U.S. High Schools: 1980-2000" (William B. Walstad); (6) "Beyond Content: Deep-Structure Objectives for Sociology and Social Science Curricula" (Keith A. Roberts); (7) "Professional Associations and Educational Advocacy: The Behavioral Sciences in U.S. Schools" (Ruth O. Selig); and (8) "Bridging the Gap: Political Science, Economics, Behavioral Sciences in K-12 Education" (Sharryl Davis). (BT)

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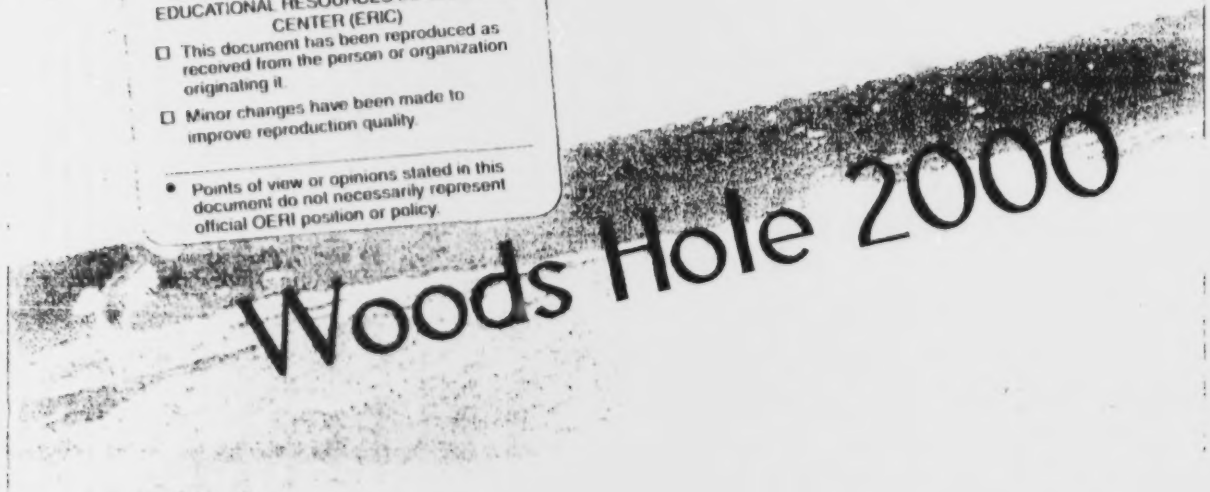

Woods Hole 2000

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Charles S. White, Editor

Social Science Education Consortium 2001

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Sea Changes in Social Science Education

Woods Hole 2000

Edited by
Charles S. White

The Social Science Education Consortium Conference Series

Volume 2

Matthew T. Downey and Joseph P. Stoltman, Senior Editors

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Foreword

The Social Science Education Consortium has as its mission the alignment of recent scholarship in the social science disciplines and the scholarship of teaching and learning within K-12 social studies education. In 1959, Woods Hole, Massachusetts, was the site for a conference that laid the groundwork for the *Process of Education*, by Jerome S. Bruner (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). The *Process of Education* became a landmark treatise on the importance of disciplinary content and inquiry and a book that has influenced the activities of the Social Science Consortium since its inception in 1963. To mark the 40th anniversary of the *Process of Education*, the Consortium planned its 2000 annual conference at Woods Hole, the place where educational reform in the second half of the 20th century began. The agenda for the SSEC conference at Woods Hole was designed to continue the tradition of examining scholarship relative to the social sciences in K-12 education.

In planning the content focus for Woods Hole in 2000, it was inevitable that the question of the "new social studies," or the "older, new social studies," or anything associated with the period following the 1959 Conference would have to be addressed. Planners concluded that we would be remiss if we did not revisit the earlier period and put the developments of the 1960s "new social studies" into the context of the SSEC conference. SSEC is fortunate to have a vivid institutional memory of the "New Social Studies" among our members. One of them, Peter Dow, volunteered to prepare the context-setting paper for Woods Hole 1959 to 2000, "A Dream Deferred."

The content focus for this volume is political science, economics, and sociology. Geography and history are the focus of a companion volume on the 1999 conference, *Social Science on the Frontier: New Horizons in History and Geography*, edited by Sarah Witham Bednarz and Robert S. Bednarz (Boulder, CO: SSEC, 2000). The newly emerging scholarship within the disciplines represented in this volume is important for several reasons. First, political science, which is taught as civics and government in K-12 education, has new and interesting theories and research on public policy and citizen participation at different scales from local to international. Research in political science is revealing content-rich, conceptual structures that define and explain current and long-term changes in citizen participation. Second, economics has developed new research paradigms consistent with the transition from local and regional to global perspectives on resources allocation and distribution. New research in economics is analyzing the future impacts of glo-

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balization on market systems that range from the international flows of capital to the local community. The disciplines of political science and economics, along with geography and history, comprise much of what is taught within the social studies curriculum in schools within the United States. Third, new research in sociology reflects upon the contemporary influences society presents and how it affects the way K–12 students think about and participate in the social milieu. Bridging the theories, concepts, and applications from the research frontiers of the disciplines to K-12 social studies is the challenge.

Research within the social science disciplines occurs in many different venues, but generally reaches the large community of scholars through professional and academic societies. Those academic societies are often the "central pivots" for making contact with K–12 education. The advocacy role of social science organizations is necessary if the social science content they represent is to be reflected in what teachers in elementary and secondary schools teach and what students learn. Similarly, the implications that scholarship and research in the social science disciplines have for K–12 education are an important consideration. New knowledge from most disciplines takes years to reach the K–12 curriculum in a systematic manner unless there is a compelling reason for its timely inclusion. Part of the issue is that adding something new to the curriculum often necessitates omitting other content viewed as important. Another aspect of the issue relates to regular upgrading of teacher content proficiency. The implications of recent research in the social sciences for instruction within the social studies curriculum is a persistent concern of the Social Science Education Consortium, as exemplified by the focus of this volume.

The senior editors would like to thank Professor Charles White for his foresight and diligence in planning the Woods Hole conference and also for his service as editor of this volume. We would also like to thank the Committee on Geography of the National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, for co-sponsoring the SSEC conference at the J. Erik Jonsson Center, Woods Hole, Massachusetts. We would like to acknowledge that the conference at Woods Hole and this publication were supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation. The production of this book would not have been possible without the huge effort and dedication of Laurel Singleton at SSEC. We are grateful for her copyediting and creative expectation and vision for the final manuscript.

Joseph P. Stoltman, Western Michigan University
Matthew T. Downey, University of Northern Colorado
Senior Editors, SSEC Conference Series
October 2001

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A Dream Deferred: Shall We Reinvent the "New Social Studies"?

By Peter B. Dow

The Challenge

Our culture is changing more swiftly than any society in recorded history. Every day brings new reports of the impact of technology on the ways we live. The private lives of our political leaders, once concealed behind a facade of mythic secrecy, have become a media sideshow; the stock market, until recently the obscure province of the financial elite, is now accessible to any Internet-savvy laptop day trader; cruelty and genocide taking place in the most obscure locations across the globe are nightly fare in our living rooms; even our schoolhouses have become prey to the killing rampages of disturbed teenagers; and—as if the sensationalism of breaking news were not enough—we are now offered round-the-clock video access to couples who have chosen to bare every detail of their daily activities via concealed cameras in their homes and offices (Sella 2000). Small wonder that we social studies educators are once again discussing new ways to engage the young in learning to think clearly and act responsibly in our increasingly confusing social and technological world.

Unlike the Sputnik-driven reformers of an earlier time, we face no visible foreign threats to spur us to action. No contemporary Hyman Rickover speaks of a "grim duel" with the Soviets that challenges our military and technological prowess. The educational problems we face today are largely internal and self-made. They spring from a deep sense that our current methods of schooling are inadequate to meet the learning requirements of the world we have created—a world reeling from a revolution in communications technology and a meteoric growth in knowledge production. No one these days can rely on 12 or even 16 years of formal education as sufficient preparation for responsible adult-

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hood. The need to learn has become a never-ending phenomenon, and schooling must become an education in *how* to learn. When I watch my two-year-old granddaughter deftly wielding a computer mouse to retrieve her copy of *A Bug's Life*, I know that we educators have our work cut out for us. We have scarcely begun to fashion the systems of schooling that will meet the needs of the modern world.[4]

The "education gap" we face with other developed countries is larger and better documented than it was in the 1950s—if indeed one existed then at all. The recently completed Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) ranks American students near the top at the fourth-grade level in science (only Korea outperformed us), but we drop to the middle of the pack by eighth grade and fall still further at the high school level (OERI 1997). (A rerun of the 8th grade science test in 2000 showed unchanged results.) The comparative performance of young Americans in mathematics is considerably worse. The fantasy of former President Bush and the nation's governors in 1989 that we would be "first in the world in math and science by the year 2000" failed to materialize as we continued to ignore the need for a serious investment in educational change. Our recently elected President Bush talks about making school reform a major agenda item in his administration, but there is little sign he and his advisors have a clue about how to deliver better results. "More testing" is his simplistic solution.

On the positive side are signs that the American public is increasingly supportive of a nationwide effort towards school reform. The strong science performance of American students at the elementary level undoubtedly reflects the substantial and growing investments we have recently made in elementary science instruction through the programs of the National Science Foundation, the Department of Education, NASA, and other agencies. Public concern is also reflected in the growing educational standards movement that has swept the nation at both the state and national levels in recent years. What children should "know and be able to do" has now been defined for nearly every aspect of the curriculum. We can only hope that this impressive effort to achieve universally agreed-upon goals for education will eventually result in significant changes in the way we define the content and process of schooling.

Unfortunately, the early signs are not promising. We have articulated the standards while avoiding serious discussion of how to achieve them. Unless we address the challenge of inventing more effective methods of schooling, the standards movement will become one more roadblock to effective educational change. A simplistic answer, now widely endorsed, is to administer more state-mandated standardized tests, as if test-taking alone could improve the quality of instruction. In

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fact it often has just the opposite effect, for it has now become common practice in many states to terminate real teaching following the April break, and spend the spring term drilling students in how to handle multiple-choice tests. Ironically, this is just the sort of teaching that the standards-makers deplore.

The Legacy of Sputnik

What lessons can we draw from the celebrated curriculum reforms of the post-Sputnik era? How have the recent science reformers responded to these lessons? And how are these new efforts relevant to the challenge of reforming the social studies? In search of answers to these questions, I combed back issues of *The Social Studies* and *Social Education* for insights about the strengths and weaknesses of the "New Social Studies" projects of the 1960s. Thanks to the dedicated editorial efforts of the late Rodney Allen, I found a large number of articles, often written in a "mea culpa" tone by ex-project directors, who lamented the many shortcomings of the era's social studies reforms. Among the most frequently cited were:

- The obsession with the "structure of the disciplines" over a concern for socialization into the political culture.
- The dominance of research scholars who knew little and cared less about the realities of the classroom.
- The subordinate role played by teachers in the development process. (Some projects even tried to create "teacherproof" materials.)
- The unwillingness to listen to publishers or even professors of education who could have informed the developers about the realities of the educational marketplace.
- The uncoordinated nature of the development process, which resulted in a collection of unrelated products that formed no coherent overall curriculum design.
- The failure to develop significant and sustained programs of professional development that could properly prepare teachers for the new teaching roles required by the new materials.
- The lack of concern for the emotional and social development of students equally with issues of cognitive development.
- The lack of attention to pressing contemporary social concerns such as the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam.

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- The introduction of overly complicated systems of materials that included unnarrated films, uncaptioned filmstrips, quantities of overheads and graphics, and large collections of printed materials and pamphlets in place of the standard textbook.
- The arrogance of the developers who "knew" what the schools needed and therefore seldom did "needs assessments" or involved local communities in helping to define their goals for the social studies.

A more thorough researcher than I could easily expand this list. Karen Wiley, for example, in a study carried out for the NSF published in 1977, documented 37 criticisms grouped into 10 major categories (Wiley 1977). What I personally found more compelling than these shortcomings, however, as I perused Allen's collection of thought-provoking articles, was the almost universal sense that participation in the social studies reform effort had profoundly influenced the thinking of the reformers. Virtually everyone who participated in the sixties curriculum efforts spoke about the way the curriculum reform effort had transformed his or her views about the nature of effective learning and teaching.

The Process of Education

A common theme of the period is the importance of the conference held at Woods Hole in 1959, which produced Jerome Bruner's *The Process of Education*. Almost every project leader of the period acknowledges the influence of this slim volume of less than 100 pages. Howard Mehlinger called it the book that had the greatest impact on social education in the 20th century, citing three themes that particularly influenced the thinking of the social studies reformers: the structure of the disciplines, readiness for learning, and the cultivation of intuition (Mehlinger 2000). These ideas bear revisiting as we consider the current call for reform.

The Structure of the Disciplines

Bruner's interest in the structure of the disciplines sprang from his concern about children's limited capacity for remembering isolated facts. From his studies of cognition he found that the mind retains information best by linking it to useful organizing ideas, such as the underlying concepts of an academic discipline. Learning the deep structure of a field of knowledge, he argued, made it possible not only to remember

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things but to assimilate new information more easily because the mind has an organizing framework in which to place it. At Woods Hole, this proposition became the rationale for exposing students to the structure of the disciplines, an idea that was later adopted by many of the social studies projects. In retrospect, the term "structure" may have suggested more of a conceptual framework for curriculum design than was originally intended by the Woods Hole participants. The discussion, however, pointed up the need for organizing instruction around the introduction of powerful ideas rather than the transmission of isolated facts.

Readiness for Learning

Probably the most celebrated quotation from *The Process of Education* is found at the opening of the chapter on readiness: "We begin with the hypothesis that any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development" (Bruner 1950, 33). Many have used these lines to discredit the Woods Hole deliberations as disregarding what we know about the stages of children's cognitive development, particularly from the work of Jean Piaget. In fact, Piaget's colleague Barbel Inhelder was present at the conference and provided a lengthy presentation on the transition in children from concrete to formal operations. The focus of the discussion was on how well-designed instruction—given what we know about children's intellectual capacities—can speed the process of cognitive development. As mathematician David Page put it, "As far as I am concerned, young children learn almost anything faster than adults do if it can be given to them in terms they understand. [This] turns out to involve knowing the mathematics oneself, and the better one knows it, the better it can be taught" (Bruner 1960, 40). Page pointed out, however, that one must be careful not to emphasize unnecessary formalisms. As Bruner put it, "It can be demonstrated that fifth-grade children can play mathematical games with rules modeled on highly advanced mathematics; indeed, they can arrive at these rules inductively and learn how to work with them. They will flounder, however, if one attempts to force upon them a formal mathematical description of what they have been doing, though they are perfectly capable of guiding their behavior by these rules"(Bruner 1960, 38). The challenge for curriculum was to get the central ideas of a discipline into a form that was age-appropriate and accessible to the student. This turned out to be a major problem for the social studies reformers. Many solved it through the development of in-depth case studies and simulation games.

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Cultivation of Intuition

Cultivation of intuition was perhaps the most controversial topic of the conference. The chief protagonist in this debate was physicist Jerrold Zacharias, who argued for cultivating children's intellectual curiosity and downplaying the structure of the disciplines. When asked about Bruner's account of the conference many years later, he remarked, "Structure gives me the pip when you apply it to education. Jerry makes such a point that the way to remember something is to understand its structure; that's the way Jerry remembers, but that may not capture the interest of the kid." In 1965 Zacharias wrote a critique of *The Process of Education*, never published, in which he argued that "structure" may be what science appears to be to the layman, but it is not what science is all about at the "cutting edge." "I have had the great good luck," he wrote, "to have lived through and participated in some of the great revolutions in physics, including the evolution of the great structure called quantum mechanics. But scientists are usually having their greatest sport when the structure is fuzzy, ambiguous, inadequate, or possibly just plain wrong" (quoted in Dow 1991, 35).

Zacharias's observations on how scientists work illustrate why the curriculum reform movement of the 1960s was so intellectually engaging for those who participated. The task was more than trying to distill and transmit the disciplines. It was an effort to close the gap between the way a scholar works on the frontier of a discipline and the way a child encounters a subject for the first time in school. This, at their best, is what the curriculum reform efforts of the sixties tried to achieve.

The Impact on Social Studies Reform

The spirit of inquiry that Bruner and Zacharias envisioned for the science and mathematics curriculum set the stage for social studies reform. The decade following Woods Hole saw projects launched in every branch of the social studies, from traditional areas like history and geography to less commonly taught disciplines like economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science. Each of these projects sought to introduce academic content and methodology as an exercise in "learning to learn." Richard Brown, who led the Amherst American History project, was particularly articulate about this goal:

> The polestar of the Amherst Project was the idea that students learn best when they are acting as inquirers, pursuing into evidence questions that grow out of their own lives. By doing so, we were convinced, they would not only learn

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> "history" but, of even greater importance, they would also learn how to learn, in order that they might continue learning through life. We thus viewed history in the classroom as essentially utilitarian, not something to be "learned" as an end in itself but as a body of experience to be delved into by students learning how to learn while growing in the process. Incidentally, but secondarily, we expected students to come to have a deeper and richer sense of their own past and what could be learned from it if they approached it in this manner. We saw both "knowledge" of the historical past and the development of inquiry skills as important goals that would best and most naturally be achieved together. Neither was an end in itself. Each was essentially a by-product that would result from the student's own curiosity if and when the system piqued that curiosity and encouraged free inquiry (Brown 1996).

Brown goes on to point out that this kind of historical learning was not "treasure hunting," that is, looking for answers that were really the hidden conclusions of the developers, but rather a genuine search for insights into such universal questions as how one determines "truth," the limits of freedom, the uses of power, and the meaning of compromise. The developers assumed that the search would lead students beyond the provided materials to other sources of information and that it would encourage students to ask their own questions, not just those framed by the developers. Two of the most enduring examples of this were units developed by high school teachers: *What Happened on Lexington Green?*, in which students had to wrestle with conflicting eyewitness accounts and differing historical interpretations of those accounts, and *Hiroshima: A Study in Science, Politics, and the Ethics of War*, which invited students to grapple with the controversial decision to drop the bomb. Such materials, which asked students to create their own historical interpretations and articulate their own values, embodied the best of the New Social Studies.

The New Reformers: Progress in Science

Against this backdrop, let us take a brief look at the most recent science curriculum reform movement, which began following the publication of Terrell Bell's "A Nation at Risk" report in 1983. Bassim Shakashiri, head of the Education Division of the National Science Foundation during the 1980s, was largely responsible for the reestablishment of large-scale curriculum innovation at NSF. Shakashiri came to

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the Foundation from a chemistry professorship at the University of Wisconsin and immediately challenged the anti-education bias of the Reagan Administration. Sporting a large "Science Is Fun" button, he strode the halls of Congress talking up educational reform and mounting spectacular Christmastime stage shows at the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum to impress the importance of science education on the legislators and their families. Shakashiri's efforts led to a fourfold increase in funding for the NSF's Education Directorate to over $200 million in four years. His goal was to reestablish the NSF as the leading public agency in science and mathematics reform. In February 1987, he announced three multi-million dollar curriculum development grants, the most extensive NSF support for science education since the mid-seventies (Dow 1991, 270).

Since that time, the National Science Foundation has continued to invest in the improvement of pre-college science education. Today, annual funding for science, mathematics, and engineering education approaches $700 million, and more than 70 multi-million dollar science and mathematics "systemic change" projects are underway in school districts across the country. Funding for this reform effort expands each year, as Congress continues to support NSF education budgets at even higher levels than the agency requests. Given the failures of the sixties, it is worth noting the defining characteristics of these reforms that have been viewed so favorably by the federal government:

- They are based on needs assessments and closely linked to state curriculum frameworks and state and national standards.
- They are long-term working partnerships between school districts and science-rich institutions outside the schools (colleges/universities, science museums, etc.).
- They are organized around the implementation of nationally validated, inquiry-based, hands-on materials, preferably programs developed with NSF funding.
- They emphasize the continuing professional development of teachers, including the cultivation of a district-based cadre of lead teachers, teachers on special assignment, and workshop facilitators who serve as mentors to their colleagues.
- They pay teachers stipends to attend workshops during the summer and after school during the school year, and the programs are large enough to deliver more than 100 hours of professional development to the majority of the district's teachers within a five-year period.
- Participating school districts are strongly encouraged to establish materials centers where kits of materials can be stored,

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shipped, and continuously refurbished, thereby maximizing the cost-effectiveness of the investment in inquiry-based materials.

- They recognize the importance of providing for the professional development of administrators as well as teachers. Principals, assistant principals, and other district supervisors are trained in how to observe and recognize good science and mathematics teaching in their classrooms so that they can provide the proper support for curriculum innovation.
- All projects must respond to an external cross-project evaluation separately funded by the National Science Foundation as well as implement their own internal evaluations contracted for independently.

The hallmark of these projects is the emphasis on continuing professional development of teachers and the recognition that teachers are the primary agents of educational change. Leaders of these initiatives realize that even outstanding curriculum materials will fail unless they are implemented by teachers who understand and care about the kind of teaching and learning that they represent. The goals of these new NSF-funded efforts are no different than the goals of the 1960s projects: fundamentally to change the content, teaching methods, and culture of schooling. What *has* changed are the implementation strategies and the recognition that it takes many years to implement significant reform.

The Problem with Social Studies

So why have social studies educators not ridden this new wave of science reform as they did in the 1960s? A trip through the professional literature of the past decade indicates that we are a long way from agreement on what the content of the social studies curriculum should be. In 1989 the Curriculum Task Force of the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools published an impressive report called *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century*. Co-chaired by the Commission's Executive Director Fay Metcalf and historian William McNeil, the panel comprised a distinguished collection of scholars and social studies educators. The report presented some compelling arguments for reforming the social studies. It addressed many of the problems of the New Social Studies, including the lack of coherence across the curriculum and the need for collaboration between historians and social scientists, and it particularly stressed the importance of inquiry linked to social action:

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> Content knowledge from the social studies should not be treated merely as received knowledge to be accepted and memorized, but as the means through which open and vital questions may be explored and confronted. Students must be made aware that just as contemporary events have been shaped by actions taken by people in the past, they themselves have the capacity to shape the future (*Charting a Course* 1989).

The spirit of this report is strikingly reminiscent of the Sputnik-inspired reformers. It calls for the integration of the social sciences with the study of history, and it recommends in-depth study of important issues. It urges placing social studies in the center of the curriculum to cultivate the skills and insights needed to shape the future of our society, and it proposes challenging students to take on roles of civic responsibility. Indeed, it reads like a manifesto designed to mobilize a new wave of social studies reformers to address the need for a rigorous, thought-provoking, action-oriented social studies curriculum. Yet the report received mixed reviews and apparently soon fell into obscurity as it succumbed to attacks of those who felt it was too tied to the academic disciplines and not focused sufficiently on the skills of "decision-making" (Risinger 1991, 139).

This effort was soon followed by an initiative led by the National Council for the Social Studies to develop an acceptable set of national standards that could drive social studies reform. The learning standards for students, published in 1994, and the teaching standards, published in 1997, are detailed prescriptions that do an admirable job of accommodating all the disciplines, promoting constructivist pedagogy, and advocating preparation for civic responsibility. Like the Commission's report, the standards describe social learning as education for social action:

> Social studies should help public discourse to be more enlightened because students possess the knowledge, intellectual skills, and attitudes necessary to confront, discuss, and consider action on such issues.... Students who possess knowledge, skills, and values are prepared to take appropriate civic action as individuals or as members of groups devoted to civic government (*Expectations for Excellence* 1994, 5).

The standards set forth ten interdisciplinary themes—topics such as "Time, Continuity and Change" and "Science, Technology and Society (*Expectations for Excellence* 1994, 5)—and articulate detailed expectations for both teachers and students. But they beg the hard questions of

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"scope and sequence," leaving specific content selection to the standards makers for the specific fields.

Herein lies the minefield. The problem of standards-setting in the content areas has been particularly illustrated by the historians. In the fall of 1994 the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA, headed by Charlotte Crabtree and Gary Nash, provoked a firestorm of public debate when it published its first set of history standards. Attacked for their anti-Western bias, they were denounced by Bill Clinton and his reelection challenger, Bob Dole, and even the U.S. Senate condemned them in a 99-1 vote in January 1995. Although a revised edition, published in 1997, received the endorsement of conservative educators and historians such as Diane Ravitch and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (Ravitch and Schlesinger 1996, Ravitch 1997), the debate continued. As one pair of critics put it, "The revised [world history] standards are biased because they both romanticize and overemphasize the significance of non-Western cultures while denigrating and deemphasizing the role of Western civilization" (Fonte and Lerner 1997, 20).

Mobilizing financial support for social studies curriculum innovation will be difficult so long as the field remains in such philosophical disarray. While there seems to be agreement on the mission to engage students in a consideration of their social and public responsibilities and to help them think clearly about the values that shape and support a democratic society, confusion remains about how to accomplish these goals through the design of powerful and engaging social studies curriculum materials and teacher development programs. Consequently, social studies educators continue to be bit players in the national movement for school reform.

The debate over how to define the content of the social studies curriculum is hardly new. It is a haunting reminder of the conflicts that plagued the founders of the New Social Studies in the 1960s. At a Social Studies Curriculum Conference organized by Jerrold Zacharias at MIT's Endicott House in 1963, sociologist Bob Feldmesser, who later helped to launch *Sociological Resources for the Secondary Schools*, angrily challenged the historical bias of most social studies teaching. "We shall make no progress in transforming the social studies into social science," he declared, "until we slaughter the sacred cow of history" (quoted in Dow 1991, 42). Zacharias was dismayed by the acrimony between historians and the social scientists, and he summoned MIT historian Elting Morison to the rescue. Morison managed to calm the disgruntled throng by pointing out that "the intellectual processes in every discipline are very much the same." All fields, he reminded them, examine data and derive conceptions from them, and, in this respect, historians and social scientists employ complementary methodologies. A new

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approach to social studies, he argued, should strive to bring about an integration of the disciplines by picking compelling case studies and focusing on different techniques of examination. "I remember saying," recalled Morison some years later, "that I thought you could write most of the history of the United States by a careful investigation of how the battleship Kentucky was built in 1900" (quoted in Dow 1991, 44). Morison's appeal helped the group to see that the focus should be on cultivating thinking processes rather than covering large bodies of content. Thus was born the concept of "postholing": studying a particular moment in historical time intensively and viewing it from a variety of perspectives. This commitment to "depth" rather than "coverage" brought the group closer to the way of thinking that characterized reform in the sciences.

The Challenge Ahead

So where do we go from here? The answers are far from easy. Documents like *Charting a Course* and the NCSS Standards are bold efforts at goal setting, but so far they have failed to arouse the necessary level of support, either within or outside the profession, to ignite a national reform effort. Perhaps once again, as we did in the 1960s, we should take a page from the science reformers. If so, we would:

- ***Focus on cultivating the processes of inquiry.*** Our colleagues in the natural sciences spend little time talking about "coverage" other than to make sure that there is a balance of exposure to the life, earth, and physical sciences. Their emphasis is on the development of logical thinking processes and on helping students learn how to ask and answer their own questions. They foster a process of inquiry in which students undertake firsthand investigations of batteries and bulbs to understand electric circuits, experiment with Wisconsin Fast Plants to study plant growth and development, and fashion boats out of clay to explore issues of buoyancy and density. We could emulate this approach by focusing increased attention on the real-life experiences of young people and the questions that trouble them. It may be challenging to address some of the tougher issues of sex, power, violence, ethnicity, racism, and inequality that plague our society, but it is one way to get our students to take their social learning seriously.
- ***Examine a relatively small number of topics in depth.*** Most science reformers agree that with the rapid proliferation of knowledge in the natural sciences, attempting to cover all

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possible "topics" of investigation would be counterproductive. They have been impressed to learn from the TIMMS study that German and Japanese teachers address only about eight or nine topics in eighth-grade science whereas U.S. teachers average about 67 (Colwell 2000, 11). Most science reformers have replaced the "mile wide, inch deep" approach of the textbook with concentration on a limited number of in-depth explorations supported by kits of inexpensive hands-on materials. Could we not also replace the textbook with carefully selected sets of materials that focus on a small number of topics? These materials could include objects and artifacts together with models, pictures, firsthand accounts, and a variety of trade books that expose students to different points of view, possibly supported by a careful selection of Internet-based resources.

- ***Pour resources into teacher professional development.*** If there is one overriding lesson from the recent science reform movement, it is the importance of keeping teachers at the center of the educational reform process. If we wish to change the culture of the classroom, teachers must be the primary agents of that change. They must believe in their bones that the proposed reforms make sense for their children, and they must be intimately involved at every stage from the selection of the curriculum materials, to the professional development of their colleagues, to redesigning the means of assessment, to creating the logistical support system, all the way through to the implementation of large-scale systemic change. No one is more convincing to another teacher, or to an administrator for that matter, than a teacher who has fallen in love with inquiry-based teaching and learning. We must build a strong cadre of teacher-collaborators if we wish to transform the schools.
- ***Seek Funding from the National Science Foundation.*** One cannot overstate the central role played by NSF in the science reform effort. They have studied the characteristics of successful reform programs, and they have continuously revised their program guidelines and their funding priorities based on this growing body of experience and information. They have funded Centers for Urban Science Education Reform, Institutes of Inquiry and Teacher Professional Development, and numerous instructional materials development projects to support their science and mathematics reform efforts. In the year 2000, more than 120,000 teachers were involved in NSF-

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funded activities. Their latest initiative is called Centers for Learning and Teaching—a national network of university-school partnerships designed to develop the next generation of K-12 educators (Colwell 2000, 9). They recognize the enormous need to increase the professionalism of teachers if the quality of schooling is to be improved. We must convince the National Science Foundation to include the social sciences under the umbrella of science reform.

- ***Launch a long-term collaborative effort.*** The days of the individual curriculum entrepreneur are over. Our field has had its curriculum development geniuses in the past—the Fentons, the Olivers, the Seneshes, the Hilda Tabas. Name your favorite. But we need more than gurus of curriculum innovation. We need a coherent, collaborative plan that brings together the best of what the historians, social scientists, and public issues advocates have to offer. We need to design a PreK-12 history, social science, and social studies curriculum reform effort that integrates the disciplines, that focuses on empowering young people to think for themselves, and that can attract major funding over the long pull. In short, we need to shelve the debates and roll up our sleeves.

Can it be done? Here is a heart-warming story. For some years now I have been trying to persuade the NSF to fund a little natural history museum-based program called *Object Lessons*. This project uses real objects, facsimiles, and related pictorial and written materials to encourage elementary-aged children to investigate trees, insects, birds, and mammals. In my most recent proposal, I added a unit on archaeology. The NSF hesitated, but the reviews were good so they gave us the money. The archaeology kit is benign enough—kids spend several weeks uncovering and examining the features and artifacts of a mystery site they eventually discover is a 19th-century one-room schoolhouse. In one of our recent test classes the children, who are fifth- and sixth-graders from a tough, inner city school, became deeply engaged in the project. They struggled to map the site, wrestled with issues of measurement and scale, drew and identified the artifacts, and debated the significance of their findings. Matters of boy-girl relationships, outdoor plumbing, teacher discipline, staying warm in winter, and learning from McGuffey readers and strange arithmetic and spelling books became topics of spirited classroom discussion and debate. The talk led to some provocative observations about their own schooling experiences, including the problem of discipline, conflicts in their relationships with their peers, the prevalence of sex and violence, and unfair treatment by their teachers.

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Perhaps the most touching aspect of this experiment was that Caitlin, who was by no means the most able student in the class, began to carry out an archaeological investigation of her own. She wanted to figure out what happened at a place near her grandfather's house, where she found a number of artifacts dating from the early 1900s. She brought the artifacts to class to show her teacher and her classmates. She even managed to get her grandparents involved. Caitlin's engagement is a testimony to the power of exposing young people to the methods and substance of science. She has fallen in love with archaeology. Could we ask for more? Caitlin exemplifies Dick Brown's vision of the student engaged in historical inquiry, asking her own questions and "learning how to learn while growing in the process." Knowledge of the past and the skills of inquiry are being "achieved together." And, best of all, the process is being driven by Caitlin's own curiosity, not by the external demands of schooling. Is this not what inquiry learning is all about?

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Politics Is Not a Dirty Word: Helping Students to Appreciate Democracy

By John R. Hibbing

Helping young people to be satisfied, contributing, democratic citizens is among the most important goals of the U.S. educational system, yet by all accounts we are falling woefully short of achieving this goal. People generally, and young people in particular, rarely participate in politics. Only in presidential races does even half of the eligible electorate vote; typical turnout has been about 35 percent in midterm congressional elections, lower still for local elections; primary elections usually draw voting percentages in the "teens." The voting participation of young people (18-29) is significantly lower than these electorate-wide figures. When attention shifts to more demanding forms of political participation, such as working for a campaign, contributing money to a candidate, contacting elected officials, or taking part in a march or issue-based demonstration, participation levels are even more depressed.

Perhaps people are not participating because they are so content with politics. If the governmental system is believed to be whirring along smoothly and successfully, maybe citizens simply see no reason to seek changes in such a good arrangement. Of course, anyone who has paid much attention to the public mood knows this speculation to be false. Although approval of government actually improved beginning in late 1997 (with a modest relapse during the presidential impeachment process of 1998), the general public attitude toward government was generally quite hostile during the last quarter of the 20th century. Books were written about "The Confidence Gap," about "Why Americans Hate Politics," and about "Congress as Public Enemy" (Lipset and Schneider 1987; Dionne 1991; Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 1995). Polls showed the public's approval of, trust toward, and confidence in govern-

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ment were all down markedly.[1] Focus group comments, echoing those made on street corners, in bars, and at family reunions, suggested that, with regard to politics, people were frustrated and detached, not pleased and content (Craig 1993; Matthews 1994; Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 1995; Eliasoph 1998).

What is the role of our nation's schools with regard to desultory rates of political participation and intense public antipathy toward government? Is it the schools' duty to promote political participation and positive images of government? If, as many believe, schools need to do more to encourage students to participate in politics and, relatedly, to harbor less spiteful attitudes toward government, how do we proceed on these incredibly challenging tasks? In this paper, I contend that civic education actually succeeds on many fronts but that it fails to teach students an extremely crucial point: namely, that democratic politics in a large, heterogeneous society will inevitably be messy and unsatisfying. Without this knowledge, students cum citizens are doomed to see the polity as falling well short of the lofty ideals that are stressed in civic education.

What More Schooling Seemingly Promotes in Students

Data on public opinion will make it easier to understand my perception of the successes and failures of the current approach to political education. These data come from a specially commissioned national survey that was conducted for my colleague Elizabeth Theiss-Morse and me by Gallup in the late spring of 1998.[2] Since we asked respondents about their political knowledge, activities, and attitudes and also about their level of education, we can determine the extent to which these political variables change with additional education.

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[1]See, for example, ***The Gallup Report*** (various issues) available from Gallup's office in Princeton, NJ, or on their website at www.Gallup.com, or ***The Harris Poll*** (various issues), available biweekly from Louis Harris and Associates in Los Angeles. For a somewhat dated but comprehensive look at trends in confidence, see Lipset and Schneider 1987. Media polls have also taken great interest in attitudes toward institutions. For a good example, see the poll achives at www.Washingtonpost.com.

[2]The telephone survey was conducted from mid-April to mid-May 1998 using Gallup's standard techniques. The number of respondents was 1,266 and the response rate was 59 percent, a reasonable figure given that the average length of the survey was nearly 28 minutes. The survey was made posible by a grant from the National Science Foundation (SBR-9709934).

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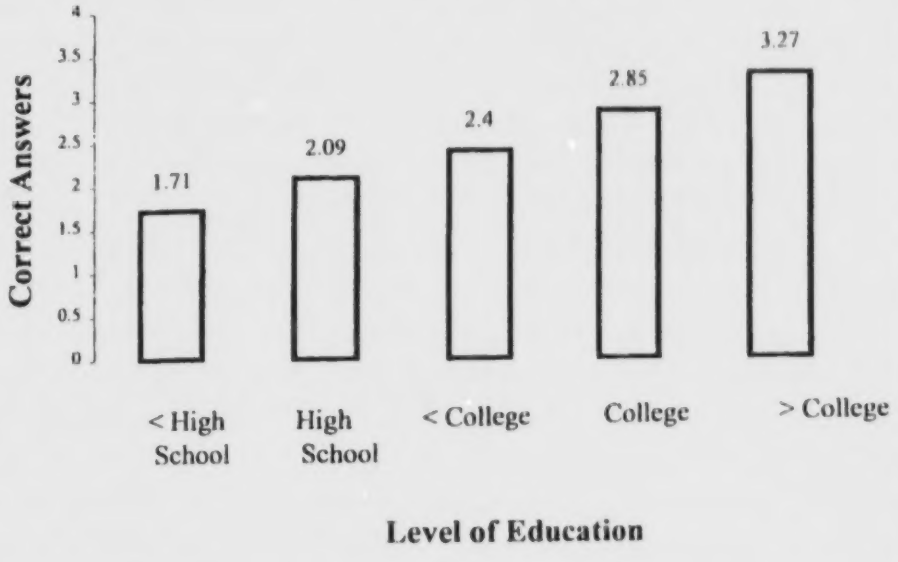
To illustrate, in the course of the survey we asked respondents four factual questions about politics: What job or political office does Al Gore now hold? (Remember this was 1998 when the correct answer was Vice-President.) What job or political office does Tony Blair hold? (Prime Minister of Great Britain) Who has the final responsibility to decide if a law is constitutional or not, the President, the Congress, or the Supreme Court? (The Supreme Court) Which party currently has the most members in the U.S. Senate? (The Republicans did in 1998.) These factual items were combined into a single (additive) variable so that the mean number of correct responses across the five levels of education (less than a high school degree; a high school degree only; some post-secondary classes but no four-year college degree; a four-year college degree only; and some work beyond a four-year college degree) could be observed. The results are presented in Figure 1.

Obviously, the more education a respondent possessed, the more factual questions (on average) the respondent was able to answer correctly. Those who did not complete high school were correct on 1.7 of the four questions while those who had done at least some post-baccalaureate study were correct on 3.27 of the four questions. Of course, claiming that additional education is definitely the cause of the heightened factual knowledge would be unwise. It could be that a certain type of person is both more likely to pursue further schooling and to know

Figure 1: Education and Political Knowledge



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political facts, thus rendering the relationship spurious. On the other hand, at least a portion of the increment to knowledge is quite possibly attributable to learning that takes place in (or is stimulated by) school. The most important point is that the evidence contained in Figure 1 provides no basis for an indictment of political education in the schools.

The same is true for Figure 2. Here the dependent variable is not political knowledge but self-professed political interest (Are you very interested (3), somewhat interested (2), slightly interested (1), or not at all interested (0) in politics and national affairs?). When political interest is evaluated across the same five educational levels, we see impressive improvements made at each step of the way. The conclusion is clear: those with more education have more interest in "politics and national affairs." Education may not necessarily be the cause of this increased interest, but the pattern in the data is precisely the one hoped for by defenders of current political education practices.

The same conclusion applies to (claimed) voting behavior (see Figure 3). Just 56 percent of those respondents without a high school degree voted in 1996, while over 87 percent of those with at least a college degree voted. Of course, since overall turnout in 1996 was 55 percent, our respondents, like respondents in all surveys, obviously tended to overstate their voting behavior. Still, assuming the degree of overstatement is roughly similar across educational levels, we once

Figure 2: Education and Interest in Politics

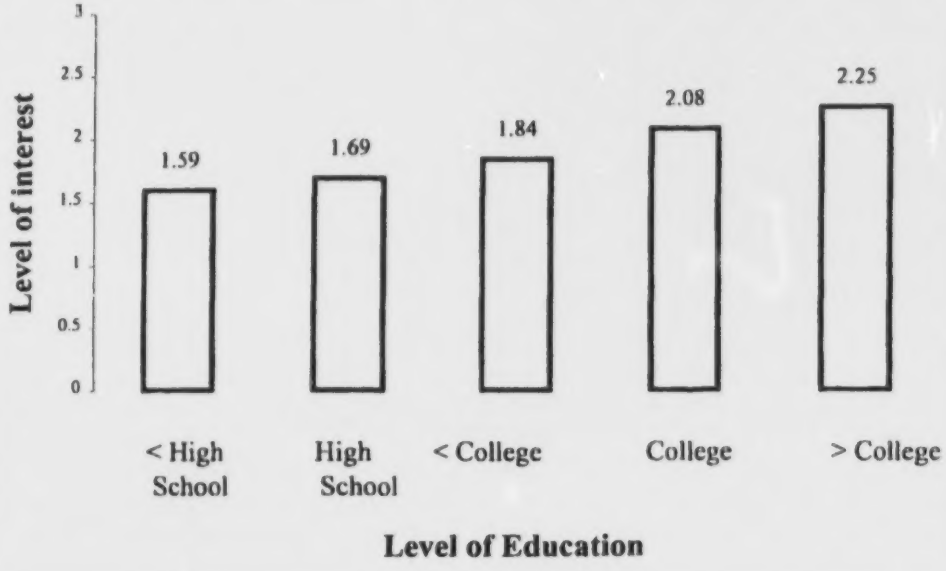

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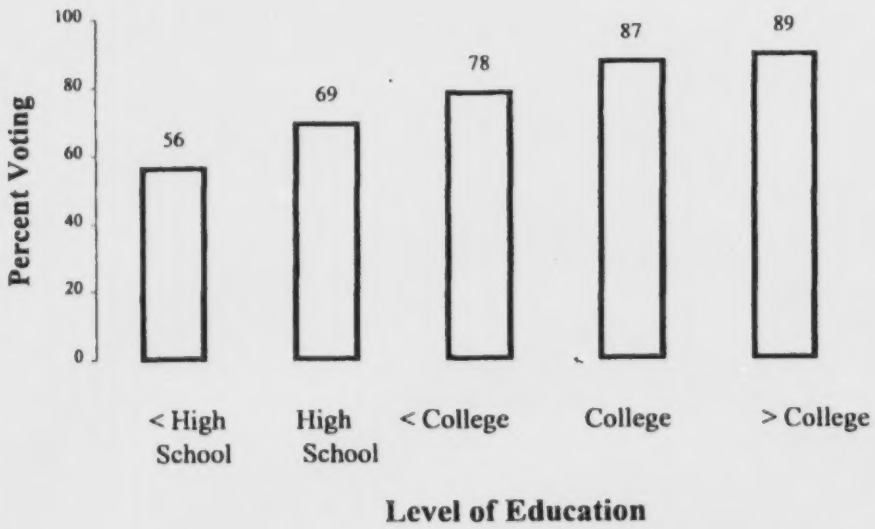
Figure 3: Education and Voting in 1996



again see evidence that schooling may have a positive political consequence; in this case, an increased tendency to vote. Similar patterns appear, by the way, for other forms of participation such as contributing money (not shown), contacting public officials (not shown), and belonging to a community-betterment organization such as the PTA, the Lions or Sertoma Club, or a charitable-activity group (Figure 4). All of these methods of involvement are more likely to be engaged in by educated than by uneducated people.

The Importance of Democracy Appreciation

There is no apparent evidence that current political education practices are rendering people less informed, less interested, or less involved in politics; in fact, the evidence is consistent with the belief that these practices actually help people to be more informed, more interested, and more involved. This does not mean schools are off the hook, however. As heretical as it may seem, I believe there is a far more important goal than increasing students' political knowledge level and proclivity to participate: convincing them to tolerate and even to appreciate the realities of democratic processes. Without such an appreciation, factual knowledge is likely to be irrelevant and political involvement half-hearted and even grudging.

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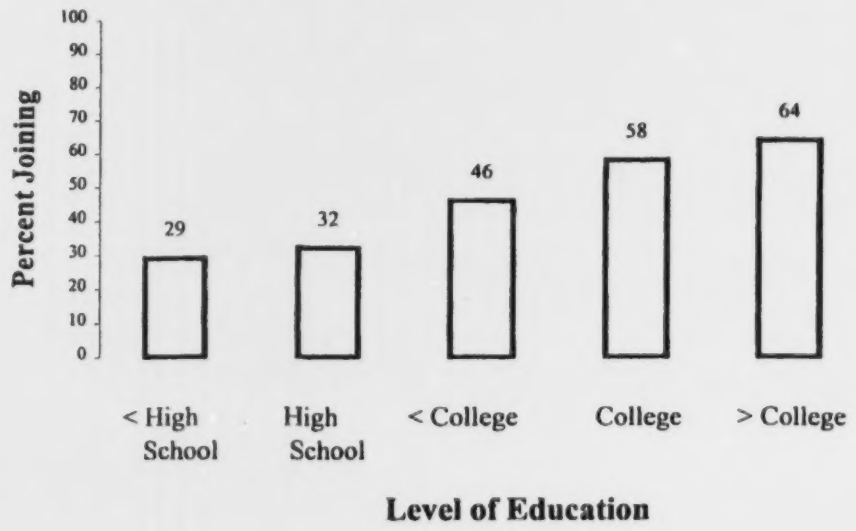
Figure 4: Education and Group Membership



Just what are these democratic realities? Four are central. First is that the key players in our democracy—the people—do not agree with each other. They do not agree on which societal problems are the most pressing, and they certainly do not agree on the proper solutions to those problems. In the survey, we asked respondents to identify "the most important problem facing the country." Their open-ended responses fell into 34 separate categories, and the most often identified problem (crime) was mentioned by just 6.5 percent of all respondents—clearly far from consensus. Even those who agreed on the most important problem usually disagreed over how to solve that problem. For example, with regard to crime, 41 percent saw the best solution as getting tougher with criminals while 59 percent favored the very different approach of addressing the conditions thought to lead to crime.

People tend to ignore the evidence that public attitudes are incredibly diverse, opting instead to believe in what psychologists refer to as a "false consensus."[3] People tend to see their own attitudes as reasonable, so they believe that other reasonable people probably share them. Despite the amazing diversity in actual beliefs about the most important

[3]For example, a person whose favorite color is blue tends to overestimate the percent of the overall population having blue as a favorite color. See Glynn, Ostman, and McDonald 1995.

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problem, when we asked people about their perception of the extent of agreement on this matter, 39 percent said "most" Americans agree and only 19 percent said "very few" people agree (the rest said "some" people agree).

In addition to the national survey, we also conducted numerous focus group sessions around the country. In focus groups, a small number of participants (usually 10-12) visit with each other for an hour or two under the loose guidance of a moderator, who suggests a few topics to the group. In commenting on the level of consensus in American society, a participant named Lisa said, "In the end, a majority [of the people] want the same thing, the same end." In another session, a participant named JoAnn said: "Eighty percent of the people think one way, but we're legislated a different way." Several expressed the belief that political parties, special interests, and media presentations tend to suggest disagreement exists when, if we could just listen to the people, it would be apparent that consensus reigns.

This belief in a popular consensus that does not actually exist leads people to disavow the second and third democratic realities: the need for debate and the need for compromise. Since "80 percent" of the public is believed to be in agreement, people wonder why the political system needs to go through endless debates and negotiating sessions. In truth, it is difficult to get 80 percent of the American public to agree on any important public policy matter. As a result, if a democratic solution is to be found in the face of this diversity, it is going to be the result of debate and compromise. In a proper setting, debate makes us aware of other people's positions and can help to identify the pros and cons of those positions. Compromise between conflicting yet valid preferences is the sine qua non of decision-making, since it incorporates the preferences of many interests into the solution. Indeed, imagining a strong democratic process that does not rely heavily on debate and compromise is difficult.

Yet the people have little regard for political debate and compromise. When we asked whether it would be better if "elected officials would stop talking and just take action," 86 percent of the survey respondents nationwide agreed. When we asked whether "compromise is just selling out one's principles," 60 percent agreed. People are turned off by policy differences, by the public airing of differences, and by protracted brokering designed to reconcile differences. As is apparent in the comments of a focus group participant named Ben, many people have come to the startling conclusion that the common good is not up for debate:

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> I'll tell you just right off the bat the thing that I don't like, or maybe I just don't understand it, is...where it seems like you have someone over here and someone over there and they're always fighting, although they're both supposed to be working for this common good.

The fourth democratic reality is less a separate point than a summation of the other three: democratic politics in a society with heterogeneous preferences will be messy, slow, frustrating, and generally distasteful. If the process takes awhile, if a plethora of views is expressed, and if we do not get everything that we want, this does not mean something is dreadfully wrong with the political system; it probably means the system is doing what it is supposed to do. Though any political arrangement could be made more dignified, a ponderous pace, a cacophony of sentiments, and "half-a-loaf" solutions are indications of democratic success, not failure. Democracy holds that all people should have some influence, so why should our own preferences be accorded preferential status over the distinct claims of other citizens? Though most people might accept this concept in the abstract, far too many respond in the fashion apparent in the following focus group exchange:

Moderator: Why are you all so upset with the political system?

Debbie: When we demand something, we still don't get it.

David: That is why we get disgusted and stop voting.

So people are inclined to minimize the existence of political diversity among ordinary people in the country, which then allows them to conclude government should be able to work in an efficient and sanitized fashion, sans conflict, sans debate, and sans painful compromises. When they instead get an inefficient process steeped in conflict, debate, and compromise, they conclude that the politicians have failed them. They heap scorn on those politicians and they advocate reforms, such as people's courts, teledemocracy, and increased use of ballot initiatives and referenda, that would shift power from politicians to the people. At the same time, the people demur from exercising what power they do have. They rarely vote or become conversant with more than an issue or two. Perhaps most importantly, their attitudes toward the political system are scathingly negative, implying that the process is so flawed participating in it in any way would be beneath their dignity.

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What More Schooling Seemingly Does Not Promote in Our Students

Surely those people who have had greater exposure to educational experiences are less likely to harbor the patently unrealistic notion that democratic politics in a diverse society can be neat and clean. Surely, number of years of schooling is positively correlated with an appreciation of diversity, debate, compromise, and, more generally, the need to put up with messy democratic processes. Sadly, this is not true, as is apparent in Figures 5-10. In these figures, the basic format introduced in Figures 1-4 is maintained. Selected responses to survey items are broken down according to the five categories of education. These figures show respondents' perceptions of societal consensus and the perceived importance of debate and compromise. While the format is similar to that of the earlier figures, the results are quite different.

For example, Figure 5 shows that more education does not bring a greater recognition that Americans disagree on society's "most important problem." In fact, although those at the highest level of education seem a little more likely to recognize diversity, the main message in the data is the flatness of the pattern across educational levels. College graduates see approximately the same level of diversity as those individuals who never finished high school. Whereas with regard to information, interest, and involvement, each educational increment brought improvement (thereby leading to a nice "stairstep" pattern), with regard to perceptions of societal diversity each educational increment brings virtually no improvement.

The story is no different for the other indicators of democracy appreciation. Earlier, I mentioned people's strong approval of the statement that "elected officials would help more if they would stop talking and just take action." This preference for just doing something as opposed to discussing what should be done before acting is not diminished by education. Once again, with the very minor exception of those with post-baccalaureate education, the distinction across educational levels is virtually nil. Educated people are as likely to advocate rushing into action without debate as are less educated people. Similarly, educated people are no more likely to see the benefits of being exposed to "a lot of different opinions" before making a decision. According to Figure 7, people's tendency to see value in hearing diverse opinions before rendering a decision shows no appreciable increase across educational categories. Moving to Figure 8, education actually seems to depress recognition of the fact that "the American people disagree with each other so much that politicians need to compromise to get anything done." While one might think that people with more education would

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Figure 5: Believe Americans Disagree on Most Important Problem

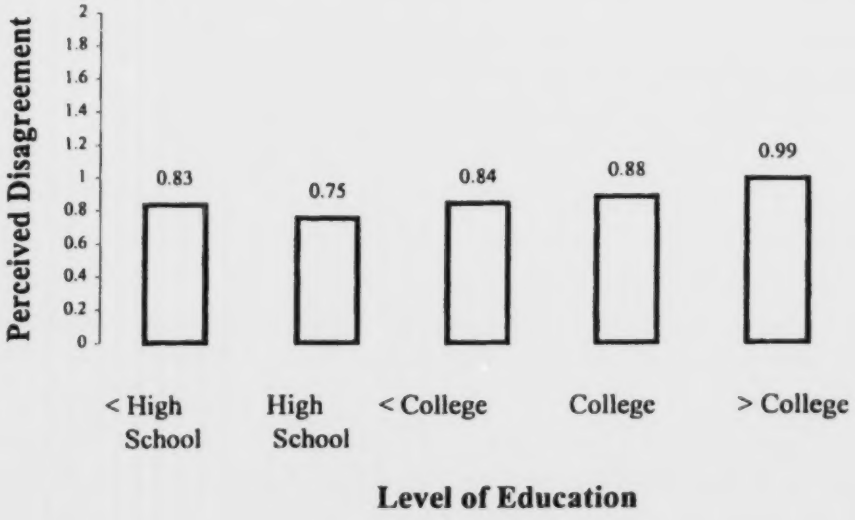

Figure 6: Perceived Need for Debate

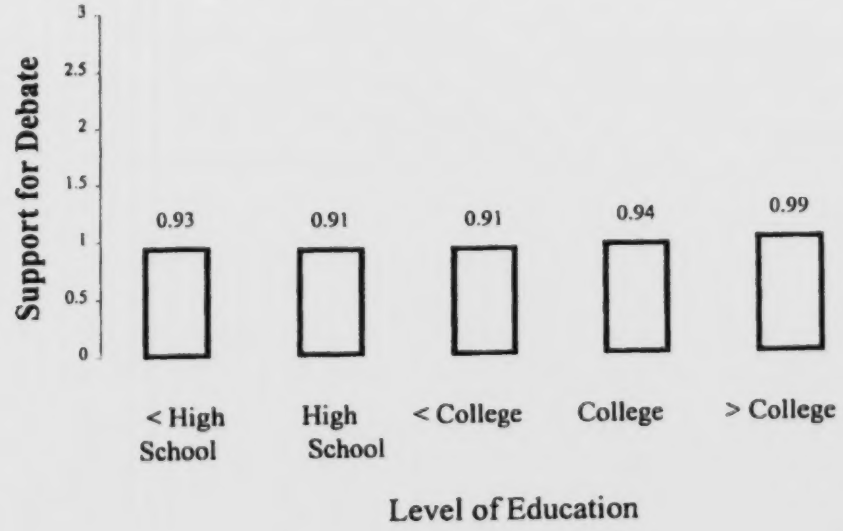

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Figure 7: Diverse Opinions Lead to Better Decisions

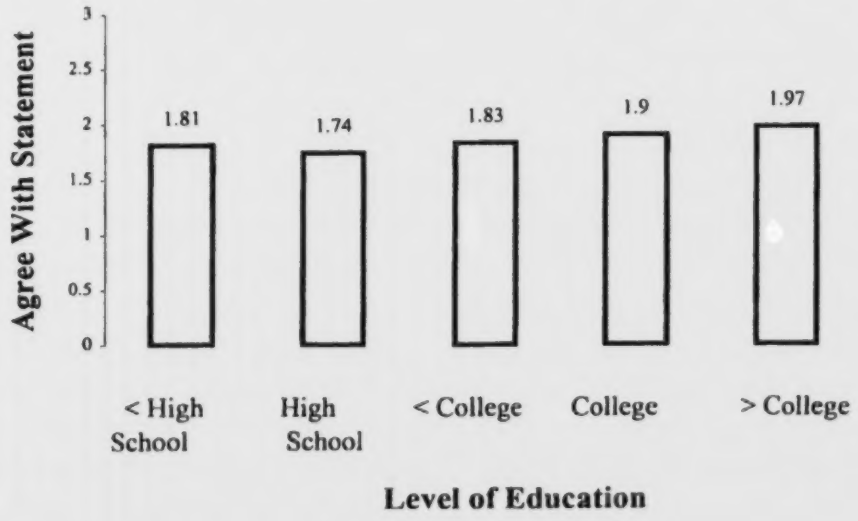

Figure 8: So Much Disagreement We Need Compromise

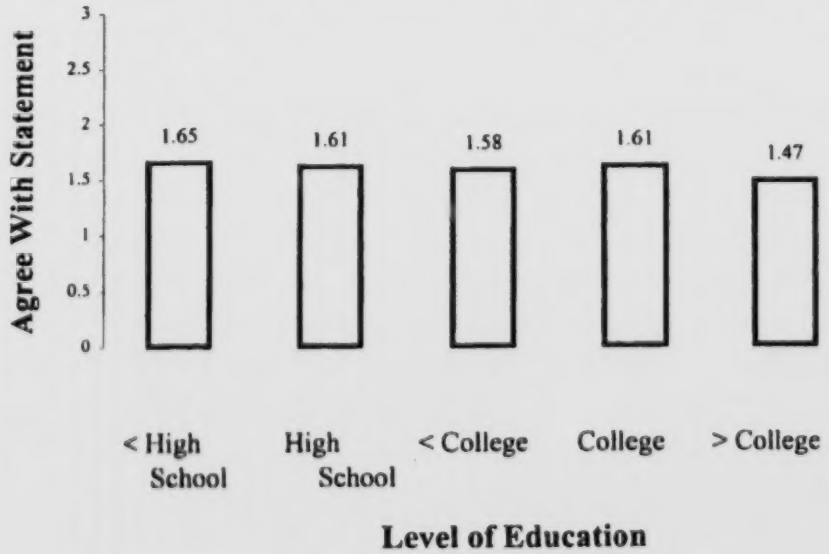

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Figure 9: Successful Businesspeople Should Decide

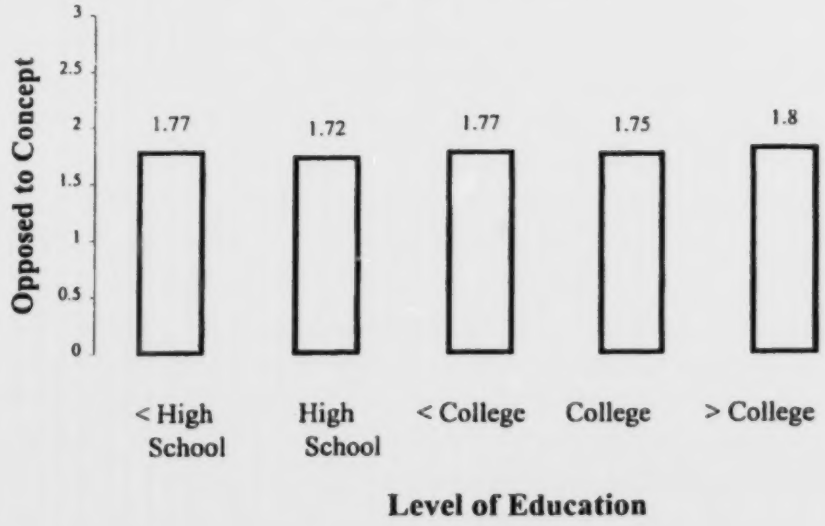
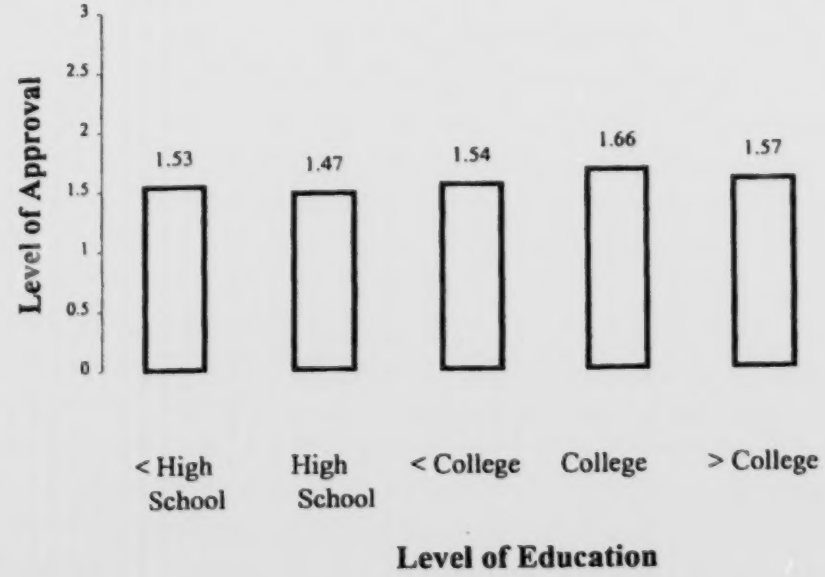


Figure 10: Approve of the U.S. Political System



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recognize that diversity begets the need for compromise, those lacking even a high school degree are actually the most willing to recognize that need—but these differences are slight and not significant. The central point is that education apparently is not helping people to accept democratic realities.

Perhaps this is why people seem to be surprisingly open to considering procedures that could only be described as less-than-democratic. Another survey item asked whether it would be better "if governmental decisions were left up to successful businesspeople." About 35 percent of all respondents believed that this arrangement would be preferable, even though there would then be no method for the public to exercise a democratic check on these decision-makers. More to the point of this section, willingness to give decision-making authority to successful business-people is not diminished by additional educational exposure. Those who did not complete high school are no more supportive of this idea than are those at the highest educational level (see Figure 9). In this sense, education does not seem to be deepening our desire for democracy. It certainly does not increase our approval of the overall political system. As Figure 10 indicates, approval does not go up with education.

Why Is Democratic Appreciation Not Being Taught?

Current educational practices do not seem to be helping students recognize the diversity of political views held by their fellow residents, to appreciate the need for debating these differences, to appreciate the benefits of hearing diverse opinions before coming to a decision, to appreciate the need for compromise among diverse points of view, or to approve of a political system that tries to accomplish these incredibly challenging objectives. Disturbingly, Figures 5-10 indicate that students who have completed high school (and who have therefore experienced the full complement of civics and social studies courses) are less appreciative of each of these concepts than are those students who did not complete high school. In short, we are apparently not teaching students what I have been referring to as the realities of democratic processes in a diverse society. Why might this be the case? Several possibilities come to mind.

Often, allowing K-12 students to disagree and to debate controversial issues is the recipe for disaster. Parents and parent groups are on the lookout for indications that some particular stance is being promoted or that a negative comment may have been made toward a student holding a particular belief. In such an environment, many teachers understandably steer clear of contentious issues, thus simplifying their own

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lives as well as those of administrators and school board members. Relatedly, most textbooks these days are bland enough to avoid offending anyone with any view. While in the short term the result is fewer complaints registered, in the long term students are not being taught about the existence of disagreement and about how to deal with that disagreement. They do not get the chance to become comfortable with political conflict. They are not being taught that disagreement by its nature is frustrating but that we have to learn to compromise with people who do not share our every whim. They are not learning the art of disagreeing without becoming disagreeable. They are not learning to tolerate views that they believe to be wrong.

Recent trends in political education have done nothing to alleviate these shortcomings. A short time ago I had reason to review half a dozen commonly used high school "civics" texts. Though occasionally informative, they could only be described as stultifyingly conceptual. Students are told the difference between service organizations and volunteer groups, they are told the difference between a borough and a township, and they are told the difference between a block association and a tenants' group, but the existence of widely varying political views is seldom mentioned and lessons about dealing with conflict in a democratic fashion are difficult to find. Sentences are short and declarative, and great efforts have obviously been made to stick closely to the facts. The underlying tone is usually that "if everyone learns the basics of the political system, participates in that system, and realizes that all people are the same, then everything will be fine."

The emphasis on facts and the need for participation is not restricted to textbooks. When the Center for Civic Education, led by former Chief Justice Warren Burger, issued its much ballyhooed recommendations for nationwide standards a few years ago, the emphasis was on teaching children about democracy "at the earliest grades." What exactly about democracy should students be required to know? According to the Center, they should be aware of the many "participatory opportunities available to them"; they should know "what is meant by the public agenda"; and they "should know the meaning of citizenship, the rights it confers and the responsibilities it carries," such as obeying the law, paying taxes, voting, serving as a juror, serving in the armed forces, and performing public service ("Ed Plan Focuses on Civics" 1994). In so recommending, the proposed standards miss the boat entirely. Giving students more factual content at an earlier age will not help them appreciate the unpleasant aspects of democracy; neither will having them list the different avenues of participation; nor will getting them to recite the responsibilities of a good citizen. The problem is not that students are

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unaware of the ways to get involved in politics; the problem is that they do not want to get involved.

Similarly, the National Commission on Civic Renewal issued a call for schools to foster "knowledge, skills, and virtues," so that our young people can "become good democratic citizens." The Commission requested more instruction on "founding documents—the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, the Constitution." It called for requiring "all students to demonstrate mastery of basic civic information and concepts as a condition of high school graduation." While it stopped just short of calling for "mandatory community service for high school students," the Commission admitted to being "impressed with the ways in which well-designed community work...can enhance the civic education of students" (National Commission on Civic Renewal n.d.). These recommendations, too, are misguided. A familiarity with the country's history, particularly its organic documents, is certainly useful and needed, but we must be honest with ourselves and recognize that it will do nothing to enhance students' attitudes toward politics and government. In fact, to the extent such instruction encourages a deification of the Constitution, it often leads students to be even more disillusioned with actual democratic realities. "If only these rotten politicians could behave in a fashion consistent with the noble Constitution, the political system would work" is what many students are led to believe. Mastering more civic information will not improve attitudes, and the emphasis on community service—currently very much in vogue—is so erroneous it deserves special attention.

Service learning requirements are well intended but not well suited to enhancing appreciation of democracy. No evidence exists documenting a lasting change in attitudes traceable to service learning experiences. Indeed, aggregate-level information reveals that while student involvement in community groups has increased dramatically in the past couple of years (almost entirely due to these requirements), no other changes have been produced by forcing students to spend several hours in some service or betterment activity. Students with service learning experiences are not more tolerant of other people, they do not feel better about politics and government, and they have no better understanding of democratic realities. Why should such changes be expected? Normally, the volunteer organizations in which students serve are composed of people who, by their very presence in the group, agree with the task the group is pursuing. Differences of opinion are rare. In fact, Nina Eliasoph finds that these groups avoid "discussing potentially upsetting issues" and instead focus on noncontroversial "practical fundraising projects" (Eliasoph 1998, p. 31). She concludes that these volunteer groups "in an effort to appeal to regular, unpretentious fellow citizens

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without discouraging them, silence public-spirited deliberation" (Eliasoph 1998, p. 63). By discouraging conflict in favor of unifying tasks, the groups in which service learning typically occurs render it impossible for students to learn the lessons of which they are most in need.

Still, the main reason students fail to appreciate democratic realities is not watered down texts or infatuation with service learning. The main reason is that this is an extremely difficult lesson to learn—and, correspondingly, to teach. Historically, democracy is a method of government that, except for early and abortive experiments in Athens and Rome, is new and that does not seem to fit particularly well with human nature. If left to our own devices, humans typically slip into hierarchical arrangements; thus, to sustain collegial or democratic forms requires constant vigilance. People do not enjoy compromising with adversaries (because this means people will not get all of what they want), they do not enjoy listening to people with whom they disagree, and they do not even enjoy speaking in front of people with whom they might disagree.

The desire to avoid presenting their own views to a group may sound surprising at first, but research on New England town meetings demonstrates conclusively that people do not like to participate in deliberative settings (see especially Mansbridge 1983). Many people feel self-conscious about speaking in public even (especially?) among neighbors. No doubt this is why attendance at town meetings is down precipitously. The meetings of Hampton, Connecticut, used to attract 900 people. Recently, fewer than 50 have shown up, most of them school board members or employees of the town. Starting a few years ago, the people there have consistently voted against debating the city budget (the most important item on their agenda) at the town meeting because the residents of Hampton, like people everywhere, do not enjoy public discussion and disagreements (Hampson 1996). Public deliberation tends to be especially bothersome to those with less education, to those with less confidence in their elocution, and to women (Tannen 1994; Sanders 1997; Hansen 1997). The larger point is that people on the whole find political interactions to be distasteful. Over one-third of the respondents in our national survey said they felt uncomfortable or uneasy whenever there was a political difference of opinion.

Given people's strong aversion to most facets of democratic processes, expecting schools to be able to reverse this tendency is asking too much. Getting people to appreciate democracy is like swimming against the current; it is about as difficult as anything we ask the schools to do. People's natural inclination is to have someone else take care of political problems for them and to complain on those occasions when they are unable to prevent political processes from registering on their own radar screens (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 2002). People react negatively

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when conflict occurs because it means they should pay attention and get involved, but they would rather not.

Nonetheless, as difficult as it may be, the effort must be made to get students to understand democracy. We need to give students more than just facts about the founders, and we need to do more than simply exhort (or force) them to participate. The real goal is not just to get students to participate but rather to place them in a situation in which political participation is rewarding, meaningful, and likely to lead to more participation in the future. Consequently, lowering registration requirements or encouraging MTV buses to visit high schools and college campuses is unlikely to be of much assistance. Consider the case of one of our focus group respondents, a fellow named Ernie. Here is how he summed up his political history:

> [Politics] was never an interest...and then the last election was the first time I just said, hey, you know, I'm always bitching about this and this and that. So I registered and voted. You know and I think that out of...all the changes that I wanted, I think only one of them happened. You know...I could care less right now because it's just like everything you wanted to see changed still hasn't happened.

Ernie was unrealistic about the likely effects of his participation. He seemed to have the notion that, if he voted, he stood a good chance of getting all the changes he wanted. As a result, Ernie's participation only succeeded in transforming him from apolitical to cynical. If Ernie understood the extent of opinion diversity in this country and the unavoidable nature of democratic politics, he probably would have felt pleased and empowered to have helped secure even one of the changes he desired. Lacking that understanding, however, his untutored participation was counterproductive. Obviously, we simply cannot count on participation in and of itself to produce contentment and future participation; in this sense, the fixation on securing higher participation rates is misplaced.

How Can Democratic Appreciation Be Taught?

Saying what will not improve democratic appreciation (service learning, badgering students to participate, memorizing facts about the founding) is easier than saying what will. My main goal has been to suggest the direction in which I feel education must move. Others have better knowledge of how we might best get there. Still, I will offer a few tentative suggestions. The most obvious is for teachers to make greater use of simulations. These simulations should not merely require

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students to decide how to allocate resources (as they might do in, say, SimCity) but rather should place students in situations in which a group decision (or several decisions) must be made—even though the individual members of the group have diverse preferences. Ample time should be provided for discussion among the group participants so that they get a feel for what is involved in coming to a solution in the face of diversity. Initially, simulations could address fabricated issues, since these are the least intense (students do not have a vested interest). Gradually, the simulations could become more real as students learn how to behave in non-consensual situations. The goal is for them to realize the difficulty of decision-making in realistic democratic settings.

Relatedly, students could merely be required to discuss tough issues in a dispassionate and constructive way without the need to come to closure. If students are required to produce some final verdict, recommendation, or statute, however, they are more likely to be forced to see the necessity of debate in arriving at any decision. Videotapes could be made of the class discussion so that various elements of the discussion could be reviewed from the standpoint of whether individual comments were or were not helpful in terms of moving toward a consensus. Students could be asked to come to a decision when compromise is not permitted and then again when it is permitted in order to show them the useful role of compromise. Students could participate in a mock trial in which an American-style jury is asked to render a unanimous or near-unanimous decision after deliberating for however long it takes; they could then participate in a trial in which the jury operates as it does in Brazil: no deliberation and a simple, secret, majority-rule vote after presentation of the evidence is completed. Are the outcomes different? What are the strengths and weaknesses of each approach? Which do the students prefer and why? More basically, students could be asked to deliberate and come to a conclusion on an issue that is known to be a consensual one and then to come to a conclusion on an issue that is known to be divisive. The overarching point is that by varying the simulation/discussion/decision format, a number of important lessons about democratic processes can be taught.

I am not advocating using discussion and simulation techniques in place of teaching traditional knowledge about the political system. I ***am*** advocating that, in addition to teaching the facts, we strive—at all levels of the educational ladder—to help students come to grips with the diversity of people's political opinions and with how hard it is to arrive at a democratic decision in the face of this diversity. If this means civics instructors must forego teaching the distinction between a borough and a township, so much the better. No less a supporter of popular democracy than John Stuart Mill thought that this system of government simply

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would not work in a multiethnic society. Our goal as educators should be to show that Mill is wrong, by demonstrating that a remarkably diverse society can be democratic. To do this, students must be trained to cope with the realization that, because some people will inevitably disagree with us, we will not be able to get everything we want from the political system. Getting young people to accept this fact is the ultimate challenge of democratic education.

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Trends in Political Science as They Relate to Pre-college Curriculum and Teaching

By Richard G. Niemi

The year 1959 witnessed not only the influential Woods Hole conference on science curricula (which included a look at history and the social sciences) but also the publication of Herbert Hyman's book *Political Socialization*. These two events were intertwined in their impact on the political science profession. The former helped launch the New Social Studies,[1] in which a number of political scientists were involved. Political scientists were sympathetic to this reform because it fit the new emphasis on scientific research by suggesting greater attention to teaching disciplinary (especially behavioral) knowledge rather than a focus on normative (especially uncritical) directives about U.S. government and politics (Janowitz 1983, ch. 6). The latter helped launch the field of political socialization, which emphasized the study of young people, including (but by no means limited to) research on elementary and secondary education (e.g., Greenstein 1965; Hess and Torney 1967; Jennings and Niemi 1972).

The paths taken by these new endeavors were also similar, at least in one important sense: by the 1980s, they had both fallen on hard times. The New Social Studies, a victim of tightening graduation requirements and resistance from secondary teachers to some of its emphases, began to fade (Hahn 1985, 221; Patrick and Hoge 1991, 428). Political socialization, stung by questions about the long-term significance of preadult learning and by sudden changes in what was thought

[1] The so-called New Social Studies included political behavior and comparative politics classes, community action courses, and courses on a variety of substantive themes (Haas 1977; Patrick 1977).

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to be the bedrock of intergenerationally transmitted values (identification with political parties), died a premature death.[2]

A final similarity is that both the concern that spawned the Woods Hole conference and, to a lesser degree, the intellectual interest that inspired political socialization research are back in vogue. Nationwide efforts to improve our educational system have been a decade-long dialogue driven by the establishment of the National Goals for Education in 1990. Mathematics and science have taken center stage, but the Goals legislation also refers to demonstrated competency in civics and government and, more vaguely, to preparation for responsible citizenship. In political science, more recently, a small band of individuals has begun to redefine political socialization and to revive research into civic education and into the political views of adolescents and young adults more generally (e.g., Niemi and Hepburn 1995; Niemi and Junn 1998; *Political Psychology* 1999). In addition, political scientists, along with groups of involved citizens, have voiced concerns over the level of political participation (especially among young people) and the state of civil society more generally (e.g., Putnam 1995, 2000; National Commission on Civic Renewal 1998; NASS 1999).

My goal in this paper is to review recent work related to civic education, emphasizing the work of political scientists and focusing especially on the role of the schools in teaching young people about government and politics and in preparing them for participation in civic and political decision making. I will not review the early literature on political socialization. Suffice it to say that political scientists largely ignored high school education in civics and government for three decades, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s (except for marginal involvement in the New Social Studies). The growing emphasis on the social sciences as scientific disciplines—while high school civics classes were thought of as vehicles for teaching citizenship—reinforced the growing separation of the two efforts (Massialas 1967; Janowitz 1983; Haas 1977). Moreover, the prevailing view—based on what appeared at the time to be compelling evidence—was that students learned little from civics courses anyway, so there was nothing to be gained by studying them.[3] Instead of going over old ground, I will review the concerns that have developed in the past half-decade, emphasizing what the con-

[2]Niemi and Hepburn (1995) provide a brief history that emphasizes exaggerated premises and misinterpreted findings in early socialization research.

[3]A review and reevaluation of the earlier evidence about curriculuar effects is found in Neimi and Junn (1998m, 17-19, 144-146).

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cerns are, what recent research has shown, and what further research and action are contemplated.

Four Areas of "Civics" Research in Political Science

Political Knowledge

The release of the Civics Report Card based on the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) raised fresh concerns about the level of civic and political knowledge of young people today. At each of grades 4, 8, and 12, one-third of the tested students scored "below basic" while only one-fourth scored at or above "proficient" (Lutkus et al. 1999, 22). The Report Card was not alone in raising this question. A report sponsored by the National Association of Secretaries of State, for example, concluded that "young Americans have only a limited, vague understanding of what it means to be a citizen in a democratic country," and that "young people suffer an information and skill deficit about politics and the process of voting" (NASS 1999, 17). According to this report, many young people felt that their schools did not provide enough information even about the mechanics of registering and voting, much less about gathering information for making informed choices.[4]

In fact, it is not altogether clear that students know less now than in the past. Lack of knowledge among all age groups has been a concern for a long time, especially since modern polling techniques allowed representative, nationwide "tests" of civic knowledge (Hyman and Sheatsley 1947). Systematic, over-time evidence about young people is hard to come by. The most thorough recent study found that the knowledge gap between young people (18- to 29-year-olds) and those aged 45 to 54 increased dramatically between the 1940s-1950s and 1989, but a comparison could only be made for five questions (Delli Carpini and Keeter

[4]A decade earlier, Ravitch and Finn (1987) argued that high school students were woefully ignorant of history and literature. The Report Card on the 1994 History Assessment reported knowledge levels that were so low—especially at the twelfth grade, where 57 percent scored "below basic"—that the authors felt compelled to defend the testing and scoring procedures (Beatty et al. 1996, ch. 3).

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1996, 172).[5] Moreover, changing education levels over this period make such comparisons even more difficult than they would otherwise be.

NAEP itself examined this question for eighth- and twelfth-graders using studies conducted in 1976, 1982, and 1988. The 1990 Civics Report Card showed that changes in knowledge levels were small and not entirely consistent, with 13-year-olds performing as well as or better in later years but 17-year-olds generally performing less well (Anderson et al. 1990). The 1998 Civics Assessment included a partial replication of the 1988 assessment for all three grades. Though the results have not yet been released, extrapolations from previous work suggest that it will not show much, if any, decline in knowledge.[6]

Perhaps more important than these queries about the overall level of youthful knowledge are studies that indicate variations in topical knowledge. Niemi and Junn (1998, ch. 2) reported that twelfth-grade students (in 1988) had a relatively good grasp of a number of subjects. Most notable was their understanding of criminal and civil justice and the general rights of citizens. Schools play a role in this (ch. 6), they argued, but personal experiences (through motor vehicle laws if nothing else) and perhaps even some television programs also play a role. They found that students also have a relatively good grasp of certain aspects of federalism—at least to the extent of being able to connect the correct level of government with various administrative responsibilities.

In contrast, students know much less about political parties and lobbying, sometimes failing to recognize basic facts about the presidential nomination process, among other things. Questions about some other subjects were so few that the authors could not adequately judge levels of knowledge. It was clear, however, that students had little contextual knowledge relating to the history of women and minorities in the United States. It was also difficult to judge students' skills in working with civics material, but it proved difficult for many of them to make inferences from short textual passages or to interpret simple visual and data interpretations.

[5]On the other hand, young people pay less attention to the media than past generations did (Putnam 2000, 36), so less knowledge of current events is likely.

[6]A major international study is now underway that will provide useful comparisons of the knowledge of democratic principles among U.S. eighth-graders and 13- and 14-year-olds in numerous other countries. See Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo (1999) and Torney-Purta et al. (2001).

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It might be added that political scientists have mixed feelings about the level of knowledge in today's population (both young and old). On the one hand, they have concluded that the knowledge level of American adults—indeed, of mass populations everywhere—is very low. Nearly everyone pays attention to politics some times and under some conditions; the overall level of knowledge and sophistication varies with circumstances. On average, however, citizens are not sophisticated political observers. On the other hand, it may not make much difference. Researchers have made a convincing case that just as consumers make good decisions about purchasing cars without being auto mechanics, voters make good choices about candidates without being political junkies. And the same holds for other political decisions.[7]

Finally, there is the question of whether increasing knowledge levels is possible. Recent work involving civics courses suggests that it is (see below). Yet the fact that rising education levels over the past half-century have not led to great increases in knowledge suggests that there are severe limits to what can be attained. Perhaps what is most needed is a better understanding of the consequences of lack of knowledge. If higher knowledge levels lead to decreased cynicism or to a renewal of political interest, a major effort to inject more knowledge might be an appropriate goal. Similarly, we need to understand more clearly what kinds of knowledge promote reasonable skepticism but not unqualified cynicism. A campaign that results in small increases in certain kinds of political knowledge may be preferable to one that results in larger overall increases that are unconnected with political feelings.

Political Disinterest, Disengagement, Distrust

Along with disappointing levels of knowledge, Americans in the 1990s are simultaneously less engaged than previous generations in the civic life of their communities and express considerably more cynicism about the political process (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 1995; Putnam 2000). Moreover, these qualities are especially characteristic of today's youth. Supportive evidence abounds. Most frequently cited is the decline in voting over the past 40 years. Turnout in the 1960 presidential election was 65 percent; in 1996 it was 51 percent. Participation in many civic activities has experienced a massive decline in recent decades—epitomized by the decline in bowling leagues (Putnam 2000). Confi-

[7]An excellent description of Americans' knowledge of politics is Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996). A readable account of how individuals gather information simply and use shortcuts to make voting decisions is Popkin (1994).

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dence in government, as judged by a number of now-standard questions, is well below what it was in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Likewise, confidence in leaders of many institutions has declined substantially (Blendon et al. 1997, 213). Satisfaction with Congress, only regularly measured since the 1970s, has routinely been low.[8]

Young people are less participatory and more dissatisfied with politics and government than were previous generations at the same age. Underlying the overall drop in turnout is a large generational shift; young people today go to the polls at substantially lower rates than youths in previous generations (Miller and Shanks 1996). The same is true for other kinds of participation (Putnam 2000, 252). Reports of the College Freshman Survey illustrate these shifts. Between the mid-1960s and the late 1990s, the importance attributed to "keeping up-to-date with political affairs" declined steeply; the percentage reporting that they frequently discussed politics declined sharply over the same period (Astin et al. 1997, 45, 57). In summarizing the 1999 survey, the authors note that the percentages of freshmen who feel it is very important or essential for them to "influence social values" and to "participate in community action programs" fell to their lowest values in more than a decade and the percentage who expressed interest in becoming a community leader dropped "over four percentage points in the last four years."[9]

Young people are also less trusting of our political leaders and our national institutions. Bennett (1997), for example, reports that young people in 1994 were much more likely than in 1972 to say that Washington is run by "a few big interests looking out for themselves," that "quite a few" of the people in government are crooked, and that they have no say in what the government does.

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[8]Not everyone agrees that adults are less involved than in earlier years. McDonald and Popkin (1999) argue that turnout in presidential elections, once calculated correctly, has essentially not declined since 1972. Ingelhart (1990, ch. 10; 1997, ch. 10) argues that far from becoming apathetic, publics in Western countries have simply shifted their behavior toward elite-challenging varieties (such as discussing politics, signing petitions, joining issue-oriented groups, and so on). Ladd (1999) argues that group participation has likewise shifted to new venues but continued as strong as ever.

[9]On the other hand, a close reading reveals that figures for all three measures are considerably higher than their low points in the early 1970s. See http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/heri/heri.html.

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Student Voluntarism

Ironically, while the young lack interest in politics and government, they are heavily involved in community service. In schools at all levels, voluntary service—often in the form of so-called service learning—seems to have surged dramatically. In 1997, a wide-ranging group of nonprofit organizations, universities, schools, and government organizations established the "Partnering Initiative on Education and Civil Society" to help build service learning opportunities into elementary, secondary, and postsecondary classroom curricula. School systems at both state and local levels have established service within courses or encouraged voluntary service; Miami and Chicago schools require a minimum number of service hours, and the state of Maryland has made community service a requirement for high school graduation.

While the extent of and kind of participation can be debated (see below), what is certainly clear is that the push for voluntarism has quickly surpassed extensive scrutiny of its characteristics and effects. In this section, I will first lay out the theoretical context for student voluntarism, then discuss the extent of and kinds of participation that have been observed, and finally review the much more limited work on the effects of participation.

Theoretical Context. Theorists have long proposed the linking of school and community in civic education to develop shared or common democratic values and fundamental citizen participatory skills. A. W. Dunn (1907), for example, theorized that practical experiences of community life by students would teach interdependence and civic responsibility. Later, he helped to develop a community civics course for all schools that would allow students to live civics in the community as well as in school. Similarly, John Dewey cautioned educators against isolating school learning from "the subject matter of life experience" (1916, 10). To educate for democracy, Dewey (1938) proposed a type of active learning that provides for a connection of internal development with external surroundings in the local community. Since that time, there have been numerous advocates for and experiments in applied civics based on the assumption that schooling and learning are not necessarily synonymous and that service in the community will strengthen one's intellectual understanding of democracy and practical skills for participation (see Hepburn 1976, 1997).

In the past decade, service learning has (re)surfaced as a widely proposed means to renew political engagement. It is advocated as an essential part of civic education that can make textbooks come alive by arousing interest, increasing knowledge, and generating positive participatory and civil attitudes (Hedin 1988; Conrad and Hedin 1991; Barber

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1992; Battistoni 1997). The theory holds that students can see the connection between the community and schooling when they use their service experience as a basis for critical reflection on the nature of democratic communities and the role of the citizen in those communities.

Barber (1992) and Battistoni (1997) distinguish between service programs organized outside of the civics curriculum, which serve only to strengthen altruism and individual "giving," and those that are integral to the civics curriculum and demonstrate civic responsibilities as actually serving the individual's own interest. Barber goes a step further, arguing that in a democracy, community service should be mandated as part of the core curriculum so that ***all students*** will have the opportunity to realize the relationship between community, civic involvement, and self-interest. If service is left to individual philanthropy, he fears that those students most in need of learning civic responsibility will not volunteer. Thus, the thesis of mandatory-voluntarism has emerged.

Practice. In application, among school-based programs, there are competing views of community service education. Some are aimed at developing the skills needed to influence public affairs while others endeavor to bolster civic "charity" or service that is an alternative to governmental or public programs (Kahne and Westheimer 1996; see also Shumer and Belbas 1996; Seigel and Rockwood 1993). Currently, community service for secondary students is found in two general formats. *Service learning* is the term generally used to denote community service that is incorporated into school courses. The service interval in the community is typically preceded with preparatory sessions intended to provide an informational and conceptual framework and awareness of social/political issues related to the service assigned. Post-service activities include written reflections and classroom discussion designed to heighten learning and encourage evaluation. *Community service* generally refers to voluntary work in the community that is not linked to the school curriculum, although it may be encouraged by or even arranged by the school. Proponents of student service tend to favor more systematic and substantial service learning programs. In practice, however, more students are involved in community service that is not assimilated into the school courses, is not debriefed, and is likely to be for a shorter period of time.

Extent of and Kinds of Participation. Rates of community service among high school students are high by almost any yardstick. Overall rates are at levels associated with voting turnout in high-stimulus, presidential-year elections, and they are higher than comparable adult rates. In the 1996 and 1999 National Household Education Surveys (NHES), for example, just over half of the ninth- to twelfth-graders claimed to

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have participated in "community service activity or volunteer work at your school or in your community" during the present school year (Kleiner and Chapman 2000). In a 1996 Independent Sector study, which asked teenagers about 15 different areas of activity, 60 percent of 14- to 17-year-olds claimed to have performed volunteer activity in the past 12 months (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1997, 10). In yet another study, annual participation rates among high school students were as high as 67 percent (Wirthlin Group 1995).[10]

Rates of community service fall off sharply in early adulthood before climbing in middle adulthood. In the NHES, only 39 percent of adults claimed to participate in "ongoing" community service. Among 18- to 24-year-olds in the Independent Sector survey, 38 percent reported performing community service, and overall participation among adults was only 49 percent (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1996, 30, 54).

Over-time data are not yet plentiful, but comparable surveys in 1992 and 1996 (as well as the statistics cited above for 1996 and 1999) show no change in the proportion of teenagers engaged in community service (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1997, 10). Likewise, participation in "community affairs or volunteer work" by high school seniors in the Monitoring the Future study remained relatively constant between 1976 and 1992 (Youniss and Yates 1997, 12). Among college freshmen, the percentage reporting that they had "performed volunteer work" during the past year reached an all-time high of 73 percent after ranging between 62 and 72 percent from 1984 to 1996 (Sax et al. 1997; Astin et al. 1997, 44-45).

Nonetheless, there are cautionary notes as well. Participation at least once, which is what is denoted by most of the rates cited, is not the same as sustained participation. In the 1996 NHES survey, many students claimed only to have participated "once or twice" or a few hours total. If one excludes those who reported their service as only once or twice, the rate of participation drops from just over half to below 30 percent. If one sets the bar relatively high (to at least 35 hours), the figure drops to just 14 percent, putting a quite different face on the amount of participation.[11]

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[10]These rates of participation are also high compared to comparable figures for a number of other countries (Flanagan et al. 1998).

[11]Moreover, it is likely that some degree of overreporting occurs. On one survey, 20 percent of those volunteering were unable to say what activity they had engaged in during the past month even though they were provided a list of types of activities (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1997, 14, 123).

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The kinds of activities students engage in suggest additional qualifications to just how meaningful their service is likely to be. According to the Independent Sector survey, the most frequent type of work is babysitting (13 percent of all teenagers), followed by cleaning or janitorial work (9 percent). Such services are unlikely to enhance students' understanding of civic organizations or of adult social and political concerns. It is also significant that less than 1 percent of the reported activities take place in explicitly political organizations (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1997, 81; Davidson 1995).

In addition, as with all kinds of "public" participation, youthful community service varies across types of individuals (Table 1). Differences occur along the same lines as those found in adult political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993), although sometimes with a

Table 1. Percentage of Grade-12 Students Participating in Community Service in 1996 and 1999, by Selected Characteristics

	Participation in Community Service	
Characteristics	**1996**	**1999**
Total	49	52
Student's sex		
Male	45	47
Female	53	57
Student's race/ethnicity		
White, non-Hispanic	53	56
Black, non-Hispanic	43	47
Hispanic	38	39
Parents' highest level of education		
Less than high school	34	37
High school graduate	42	45
Voc./technical or some college	48	50
College graduate	58	62
Graduate or professional school	64	65
School type		
Public	47	50
Private, church-related	69	72
Private, not church-related	57	68

Source: Kleiner and Chapman 2000

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twist, as females typically outperform males. Differences also echo variations in family background, including both family status and degree of parental involvement (Jennings and Niemi 1981, 87-89; Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1996, 88-89). A variety of school-related factors, such as grades earned by the student and district policies toward service, are also important (Niemi et al. 2000).

Importantly, a multivariate analysis of the 1996 NHES data revealed that, after controlling for other variables, African Americans and Hispanics participate in community service at rates similar to those for non-Hispanic whites (Niemi, Hepburn, and Chapman 2000, 53). This pattern—lower rates of service accounted for by differences on other characteristics—is similar to that found for African Americans over the years for many kinds of political participation (Verba and Nie 1972; Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, chs. 8, 12). Rather more surprising were possible school effects. When a school encourages students to participate by helping arrange for their service, the probability of a student's participating increases considerably; when a school requires such service, there is no statistically significant effect. Though counter-intuitive, this result is consistent with the findings from the civic voluntarism model of Verba et al., in which "being asked" is one of the keys to understanding who participates in political activities (1995, ch. 13).

Overall, then, a relatively large percentage of students participate in community service. Sustained participation is less frequent. Many "standard" variables associated with skills, resources, and enhanced opportunities are correlated with regular participation, though surprisingly, service seems to be encouraged most when schools facilitate but do not require it.

Effects of Participation. Despite the high frequency of volunteer work, relatively few studies have investigated possible effects (apart from asking participants whether they think they learned something). The existing studies have focused on two types of outcomes: (1) changes in knowledge, including knowledge of the institutions served, and gains in civic skills and (2) changes in attitudes, including dispositions toward public service and civic responsibility.

Very few studies have rigorously examined whether community service contributes to gains in civic knowledge. Hamilton and Zeldin (1987) found that high school students who participated in a semester-long county government internship program showed a greater increase in knowledge about local government than did students who did not participate. Shumer (1994) reported that high school students in a service learning program achieved greater academic improvement than the

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comparison group. Wade and Saxe (1996), based on a review of various studies, assert that although participants spend less time in class than other students, they do not gain less political knowledge than others. Markus, Howard, and King (1993) found that college students in the service section of a course on Contemporary Political Issues attained significantly higher grades than students in regular sections (although they were based on slightly different assignments). Of course, the tendency to publish only "positive" results may mean that many instances of no gain have gone unreported.

In the 1996 NHES study, we found that regular, sustained participation in community service (over 35 hours) was associated with a substantial difference in political knowledge—larger, for example, than that for participation in school government and about the same as for participation in one to two in-school or out-of-school activities. The relationship between community service and knowledge was also comparable to the difference made by moving up two grades in school. Importantly, the knowledge items were about structural aspects of American government and contemporary political figures and were unrelated to most kinds of service in which students would have taken part. Involvement in community service was unrelated to self-reported ability to "write a letter to a government office" (perhaps because this is a frequent assignment in high school civics courses, and a very high proportion of students claimed the ability). Involvement was, however, related to self-reported ability to "make a statement at a public meeting." We felt it safest to conclude that the evidence is suggestive of a connection between community service and participatory skills, but not definitive.

Research on attitudinal effects has been more mixed. Studies in the 1980s raised considerable doubt about whether service learning programs could improve political efficacy and, therefore, whether they would have any lasting effect on participation (e.g., Newmann and Rutter 1983; Rutter and Newmann 1989). With hindsight, however, it seems likely that the intense activist programs designed in the 1970s, when tested in the 1980s, confronted an increasingly conservative climate in both school and community. More recently, Melchior (1997), evaluating Learn and Service America programs, found high levels of satisfaction and feelings of good personal relationships, but changes in attitudes of personal and social responsibility were quite small (3 to 5 percent), though considered significant. Other secondary school studies report that service learning elevates feelings of "citizen efficacy" (Marks 1994), "civic inclusion" (Reese 1997), and "civic responsibility" (Kim, Parks and Beckerman 1996; Blyth, Saito, and Berkas 1997).

In the 1996 NHES study, sustained community service was related to one of two items tapping political efficacy (i.e., to an item tapping

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personal understanding of politics but not one asking about family "say" on politics). Two measures of tolerance—an attitude that proponents think can and should be altered by community service—showed no connection whatsoever to participation. Admittedly, the measures of tolerance were narrow; still, they were standard items, used frequently to measure what we mean by political tolerance in the United States. Even students who participated frequently in community service did not respond with greater tolerance. Thus, in this study, as in others, the findings were only weakly supportive of service effects on attitudes.

Moreover, all of these studies were restricted to cross-section surveys or short-term panel studies and were therefore unable to show that community involvement while in high school is related directly to later participation. Suggestive evidence supports this connection. For example, a recent panel study extending into young adulthood found that participation in extracurricular activities (including but not limited to community involvement) was related to adult political behavior (Smith 1999). Using retrospective reports from adults, Verba et al. (1995, ch. 15) found that youthful participatory experience (though not necessarily community service as defined here) was associated with increased volunteer work and enhanced civic skills, which, in turn, influenced political engagement. Finally, studies of adult political behavior show a consistent relationship between voluntary association participation and political participation (e.g., Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, 83-88; Verba et al. 1995).

Overall, then, community service holds considerable potential for involving young people in the broader social world. Indeed, it may be the primary means of societal involvement for young people today. Rates of participation have been high for a decade or more and may still be increasing.

I would, however, make two final, cautionary points with respect to community service. First, much of the participation is decidedly nonpolitical, possibly even "anti-political" in the sense that it conveys to participants that the way to get things done is by direct, personal action by nongovernmental groups rather than by any sort of governmental programs.[12] Second, more research is needed, especially about (1) the kinds of participation in which students take part and (2) the effects (or lack of effects) of service. As noted above, participation often seems to consist of very low-level tasks, hardly the kinds that proponents tout when

[12]Putnam argues that a considerable amount of so-called community service is highly individualistic, not really involving any meaningful community (Putnam 2000, 127-29).

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they promote community service/service learning. As for the effects of voluntarism, they are too often assumed and too seldom demonstrated. In particular, infrequent, low-level participation may have no impact at all; it might even make students less likely to seek further participation and might influence their views in unintended ways. Moreover, when participation becomes mandatory (or voluntary but very strongly recommended), the effects may be different from what they are in completely voluntary settings. If voluntarism is to be a way of life for students in the next decade, it would be well to know more about it.

Civics Course Work

Concern over low knowledge levels and increased cynicism among the young has led to the establishment of blue-ribbon commissions to study the problem and provide advice about possible remedial action. Among other recommendations, these groups have called for more and improved civic education (Council on Civil Society 1998; National Commission on Civic Renewal 1998; National Association of Secretaries of State 1999).[13] Only now, however, are studies being done to provide detailed knowledge about the current state of civic education and the effects of various interventions. We summarize this work in three sections that deal, respectively, with the extent of requirements and enrollments in civics courses, the content of civics courses, and the effects of civics courses.

Requirements and Enrollments in Civics Courses. Two major efforts have been undertaken to establish the pattern of state requirements and student course-taking in the area of civics. The first actually consists of three separate attempts to establish state requirements for civics instruction. In two instances, state social studies coordinators were surveyed about requirements in their states. These studies report that on the order of 70 to 80 percent of the states have some sort of statewide requirement.[14] However, many such requirements are vague, failing to specify

[13]The American Political Science Association also formed a task force to study the problem. It has had a number of meetings but has not yet issued a report. See Task Force on Civic Eduation (1997).

[14]Hahn (1999, 589) asked about statewide requirements for the teaching of government/civics/citizenship in grades 6-12 and found that 36 coordinators reported such a requirement. Niemi and Junn (1998, 83-84) asked about statewide requirements for the study of civics or American government in grades 9-12 and found that 42 (of 51) coordinators reported such a requirement.

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particular courses, grades, or subject matter. Instead, they mandate the study of the U.S. Constitution, the teaching of citizenship, and so on.

In the other instance, the Center for Civic Education commissioned a detailed study of state constitutions and statutes to determine civics/government requirements (Tolo 1999, ch. 2). Tolo found that:

- Thirteen states have constitutional provisions "explicitly stat[ing] that a more informed citizenry is a worthwhile goal," though "none...explicitly requires instruction in civics."
- Ten states have statutes with general provisions requiring instruction in civics (no specific courses, standards, or assessments specified).
- Five states have statutes that require some form of testing/assessment in civics.
- Eleven states have statutes that mention specific courses. Some are highly specific (e.g., Iowa requires "an emphasis on voting requirements and procedures"); others refer generally to the U.S. Constitution and to three levels of government.
- Seven states have statutes relating to other aspects of civics (e.g., Ohio has a statute about community service programs).
- Twenty-four states have no statutes about civic education.

Given all of the uncertainty and lack of specificity about requirements, a coauthor and I used the 1994 High School Transcript Study (HSTS) to look instead at the number of students who had given amounts of course work.[15] Perhaps the most surprising result of our analysis is that enrollments in government/civics classes have increased substantially in recent years. After reaching a low point in the 1970s and early 1980s, during which only about 60 percent of the students took a government course, coverage climbed quickly so that, by 1994, three-quarters of all graduates had an American government course in grades 9-12 (Table 2).

Whether this is sufficient coverage is a matter for debate, but other figures should also be kept in mind when making a judgment. We asked, for example, how many students had an American government class in grade 12. This turned out to be just under one-half. We also asked about honors and advanced placement (AP) classes. Despite con-

[15]The HSTS (Legum et al. 1998) is a massive effort involving the collection of more than 25,000 transcripts from graduating students in 340 schools. Course title, year taken, grade earned, and credit received were recorded for each course on the transcript.

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Table 2. Percentage of High School Students Taking a Semester or More of American Government, International Relations, or Comparative Politics in Grades 9-12, 1994

Grade	American Government	International Relations	Comparative Politics	Any Government Class
9th grade	17.4	0.5	[a]	17.9
10th grade	6.1	1.3	[a]	7.1
11th grade	9.8	1.1	[a]	11.0
12th grade	49.9	3.7	0.6	53.2
Any grade	76.0	6.4	0.7	79.5

Note: Because students may take multiple courses under a given heading, percentages for grades 9-12 sum to more than the percentage for any grade. N=23,080.

[a]Less than 0.1 percent

Source: Niemi and Smith 2001.

siderable growth in the number of students taking the AP exam in government—the number doubled between 1987, the first year in which the exam was offered, and 1989 and then nearly doubled again by 1994—only about 2 percent of the graduates took a local honors or AP government course.

Moreover, some considerable enrollment differences exist (Table 3). The variation tends to be across types of school (public and private) and geographic location (type of place and region). Nonetheless, because many African-Americans live in big cities, which has a depressing effect on government course taking, while most Hispanics live in the West, where such courses are most frequent, it turns out that overall or "uncontrolled" racial and ethnic differences are quite large, with 42 percent, 49 percent, and 71 percent of blacks, whites, and Hispanics, respectively, having had a twelfth-grade government class. Yet because these differences stem largely from locational characteristics rather than from varying interests of individual students or groups of students,[16] it

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Table 3. Estimated Probabilities of Having an American Government Course in Any Grade or in Twelfth Grade, 1994

Region: West

In Any Grade						In 12th Grade					
Private School			Public School			Private School			Public School		
White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
74	82	81	89	93	92	71	70	81	81	81	88

Region: Northeast

In Any Grade						In 12th Grade					
Private School			Public School			Private School			Public School		
White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
42	54	51	67	77	75	32	31	44	46	45	59

Note: Estimates from a logistic regression analysis. Other characteristics assume in the regression are: Gender, female; Type of place, medium city; Track, academic; Grade point average, B.

Source: Niemi and Smith 2000.

is likely that if schools encourage students to take more government courses (even without requiring them), the results will be relatively evenly spread across students in different school programs and of varying gender and racial and ethnic backgrounds. They suggest that a higher rate of course work in government, even in the absence of enforced enrollment, is not likely to lead to greater inequalities across social or racial lines.

Content of Civics Courses. The great variety of course requirements and practices in the area of civics and government means that describing their content is a daunting task. Perhaps the best, recent description comes from content analyses and focus group interviews done for the on-going IEA project and summarized by Hahn (1999, especially 591). That project is focused on grades 7-9, but the coverage seems to be the same as in later grades. Indeed, that in itself is the first major point—that civics courses tend to cover the same material (though at somewhat different levels, of course) in middle school and high school. This point was made, for example, by Niemi and Junn (1998, 72-77) in examining student responses about course coverage in NAEP and, in turn, echoed a charge by earlier textbook reviewers (Carroll et al. 1987) that there is no clear sequence of topics or ideas in the civics curriculum.

The themes that come through most clearly in the content analysis of texts and the interviews with students are the U.S. Constitution (including the three branches of government), federalism, and the rights of citizens (Simmons and Avery 2001). Discussion of the Constitution typically includes attention to its antecedents in English and early American history. Rights are typically discussed in the context of the first ten amendments to the Constitution (the Bill of Rights) along with the right to vote.

The newest national civics assessment—the 1998 NAEP—includes a more diverse set of topics, including more attention to the responsibilities of citizens beyond voting (e.g., monitoring governmental leaders), the skills needed to participate effectively (e.g., the ability to read and interpret a variety of stimuli), contemporary issues and conflicts (including the failure always to live up to our nation's ideals), and the United States in comparative focus (including both foreign policy and comparative government). However, this assessment was based on the voluntary *National Standards* (1994) and was designed with an eye not only on current content but on what civics courses should be like.

[16]Evidence about expressed interest in studying government, from the 1988 NAEP, is found in Niemi and Junn (1998, 178).

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Effects of Civics Courses. Writing about educational reform typically presumes a connection between taking courses and learning the subject matter contained therein. In areas such as mathematics and science, the connection between students' opportunity to learn (as observed through course-taking) and their knowledge (as observed through standardized testing) has been clearly demonstrated. In civics/government, in contrast, this connection has not been so clearly made. Indeed, as we noted earlier, the prevailing view among political scientists for many years was that civics courses were of little value for most students. I believe that view is beginning to change through my own work and that of others.

In my own work, with Jane Junn (Niemi and Junn 1998) and more recently with Julia Smith (Smith and Niemi 2000), I have tried to show that taking courses as such, as well as other aspects of the civics curriculum, have an impact on student knowledge. My primary work has been with the 1988 civics NAEP data. Junn and I showed that various aspects of the school and civics curriculum were related to greater student knowledge even after controlling for a variety of other characteristics relating to individual achievement, the home environment, and student demographics. An example of our results is shown in Table 4. These results go beyond the most straightforward demonstration by showing that course impacts and the effects of individual achievement varied by subject matter. Both sets of characteristics had the greatest effect on topics that students are least likely to encounter outside the classroom—things such as details of constitutional provisions. They had the smallest impact on knowledge of citizens' rights—a topic that students know well, presumably because they encounter this material in their daily lives as well as in the classroom. (Current events, which can involve any of these subjects, was an exception.)

The size of the impact of any one variable is modest. However, we believe that the effect of courses is important because: (1) the impact of courses compares favorably with that of other important variables such as parents' education; (2) all curricular variables added together indicate a larger impact that again compares favorably with sets of variables such as the home environment; and (3) this impact is detected in an environment in which more than 90 percent of the students reported some work in civics (so we could not fully estimate knowledge levels in the absence of any civics course work).

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Table 4. Effects of Structural and Individual Characteristics on Twelfth-Graders'Knowledge in Four Areas of American Government/Civics

Variable	Citizens' Rights	State and Local Government	Miscel-laneous	Structures and Functions
Constant	57.8**	35.6**	32.2**	25. 0**
	(2.4)	(2.8)	(2.3)	(2.4)
School and civics curriculum				
Amount and recency of course work (0-2)	1.7*	1.9**	1.5**	2.8**
	(0.7)	(0.7)	(0.6)	(0.7)
Variety of topics studied (0-2)	0.9*	1.2 **	1.8**	1.3*
	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.5)	(0.5)
Discussed current events in class (0-4)	1.1**	0.6*	1.0**	1.1**
	(0.3)	(0.4)	(0.3)	(0.3)
Individual achievement				
Participated in mock elections or government (0-2)	1.5**	2.7**	2.8**	3.2**
	(0.5)	(0.7)	(0.5)	(0.6)
Likes to study government (0-3)	2.9**	3.2**	3.4**	4.6**
	(0.4)	(0.5)	(0.4)	(0.6)
Four-year college planned (0-1)	7.5**	9.4**	11. 6**	12.3**
	(0.7)	(0.8)	(0.8)	(0.8)
Home environment				
Reading and reference materials at home (0-4)	2.1**	1.7**	1.8**	1.2*
	(0.6)	(0.5)	(0.5)	(0.6)
Only English spoken at home (0-1)	2.9**	3.2**	3.5**	2.2*
	(0.8)	(0.8)	(1.1)	(1. 1)
Two-parent household (0-1)	1.6	3.6**	3.0**	2.2**
	(0.9)	(1.0)	(0.9)	(0.8)
Educational level of parents (0-3)	1.4**	1.6**	2.4**	2.1**
	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.5)	(0.4)
Amount of television viewing (0-6)	-0.7**	-0.7**	-1.0**	-0.6**
	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.2)	(0.2)
Background/demographics				
Male (0-1)	-0.1	3.6**	2.1**	4.4**
	(0.7)	(0.8)	(0.8)	(0.9)
Hispanic (0-1)	-5.1**	-5.0**	-3.8*	-6.9**
	(1.4)	(1.3)	(1.6)	(1.5)
African-American (0-1)	-6.3**	-9.6**	-10.8**	-10.1**
	(1.0)	(1.1)	(1.0)	(1.3)
Adjusted R^2	.18	.19	.25	.28
Raw *N*	4,262	4,261	4,262	4,265
Weighted *N*	523,986	523,905	523,986	524,658

Note: The dependent variable is the percentage of students answering correctly on the items in a given set. Standard errors are in parentheses.

**<.01; *p<.05.

Source: Niemi and Junn 1998, p. 138.

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Since then, Smith and I have found the same kind of results using the 1994 history NAEP, where knowledge on all four history subscales[17] as well as on the overall scale was greater when students had taken more history and had covered more historical topics. In this work, we also used information from the 1994 High School Transcript Study, so we were able to include the students' grade point average as a control, lending further support to our results.

Other recent work has begun to shift the focus from whether civics (and history) courses have an effect to what kinds of courses are most effective, what kinds of teaching have the greatest effect, and so on. Junn and I, and Smith and I have contributed to this work by noting that what is sometimes called "authentic" instruction (e.g., use of more complex writing, reading from original sources, extensive student discussion, and so on) had a greater effect on student knowledge scores. MacManus (1999), in a small-scale study of Florida students, has recently noted that simply bringing politicians into the classroom has a significant effect on student learning.[18] Others have explored the impact of course work on political tolerance. Avery and her colleagues (1992) created course work specifically devoted to this topic, testing to be sure that it had the desired effect. Brody (1994) examined an existing curriculum, finding that students taking the Center for Civic Education's "We, the People..." program expressed more tolerance than students in more conventional courses. We anticipate more work of this sort now that political scientists are turning their attention back to the preadult period and specifically to the effects of secondary schools.

Conclusion

I conclude this review of recent work in political science not with the traditional summary—since the paper itself is a summary—but with some thoughts on what kind of government courses, course content, and research on secondary education should be encouraged. These thoughts are in the nature of "suggestions for discussion" rather than "final rec-

[17]The subscales assess knowledge of the development of American democracy, the interaction of people and cultures in America, American economic and technological developments, and the shaping of American foreign policy.

[18]This is relevant in a practical sense because of a new effort by the National Conference of State Legislatures to have as many as possible state legislators visit classrooms in their states on a single day in the fall.

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ommendations." They are, however, based quite directly on the findings discussed above:

1. If there is too little civic education, the fault lies as much in the content, timing, and teaching of government courses as in the number of courses per se. The number of students taking government courses has increased substantially in the past two decades, but concerns about lack of knowledge, interest, and participation have increased at the same time.

2. More emphasis should be given to twelfth-grade courses. Years ago, the norm seems to have been that students were taught about citizenship (perhaps for a second time) as they were about to leave secondary school and were approaching adult status (which, for voting purposes, was often age 21). Currently, many students receive their last lessons about government in earlier grades—some as early as eighth or ninth grade.

3. Courses should include more attention to current, real-world politics. Attention to the Constitution is necessary but not sufficient.

4. Attention to the real world can be greatly enhanced by having various governmental officials visit classrooms. This can include elected officials, but it can also usefully include administrative staff (bureaucrats) of all sorts and from multiple levels of government. As long as it is done in a bipartisan way, I see no reason why this cannot include candidates for office.

5. Instruction in government should be more cumulative. Certainly all repetition cannot and should not be eliminated, but work in the later grades should also add new material. One way to do that is to include discussion at later grades of policies and political issues that might be considered inappropriate for younger students. Other topics that can be covered in greater depth at higher grades include comparisons with other democracies, international relations, and skills related to citizenship.

6. There should be more instruction on citizens' responsibilities as well as their rights. Evidence indicates that students currently learn a great deal about their rights as individuals—presumably through study of the Bill of Rights as well as through the study of and engagement with the justice system. Even defining what is expected of citizens, much less teaching it, is more difficult. Yet efforts in this direction should be made.

7. Political scientists should consider whether the primary focus of secondary courses should be on civic lessons/instruction or on the scientific study of politics. In either case, they need to reconsider their role in teaching those who will become secondary teachers.

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8. Political scientists and educators should continue to expand their research on voluntarism and on education, especially at the secondary level. Research should continue into the question of whether government courses have any effect on students—especially over the long run—but there should also be more inquiry into the effects of variations in content and teaching methods.

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Fresh Ideas from Economics

By Donald R. Wentworth
and Norris Peterson

> You don't need a brand new economics. You just need to see the really cool stuff, the material they didn't get to when you studied economics.
>
> Carl Shapiro and Hal Varian in *Information Rules: A Strategic Guide to the Network Economy*

> The Theory of Economics does not furnish a body of settled conclusions immediately applicable to policy. It is a method rather than a doctrine, an apparatus of the mind, a technique of thinking which helps its possessor to draw correct conclusions.
>
> John Maynard Keynes in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*

Introduction

Economics—the study of how human beings choose to use scarce resources to achieve personal and social goals—can be an interesting investigative experience. At its best, it illuminates the general human experience so one can see the "extraordinary" in what at first glance seems quite ordinary. For example, the production of a simple pencil requires the cooperation of thousands of strangers around the world who speak different languages, respond to different motives, and, except in a general sense, have little interest in each other's welfare. How can such cooperation exist when many people cannot even get along with their own immediate families? It remains an extraordinary feat that we treat as quite ordinary; economics helps us understand why it occurs, how it

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might occur in other more important circumstances such as the delivery of medical care, and under what circumstances this cooperation will not occur.

Economics can also help us understand the puzzling behavior of human beings, especially when they appear not to act in their own self-interest. Educators fret because students rarely maximize the development of their talent in schools—even when we explain that research demonstrates that education pays off wonderfully for one's entire life. Why don't most students take greater advantage of this opportunity? After all, can't we assume, as Robert Solow put it, "that a representative consumer maximizes a discounted sum of constant-elasticity utilities subject to a lifetime budget constraint"(Solow 2000)? (*Sorry, we just needed a jargon fix; it seemed like the right time.*) Solving a puzzle of this type could be more interesting than a student's typical experience analyzing the production function of a firm.

Economic reasoning has some excellent intellectual agility. It can be applied equally well to such simple and personal events as buying a gallon of gasoline and to issues as morally and socially complex as forgiving third world debt.

In the past, the economist's impersonal reasoning approach to human behavior has created barriers to student interest and understanding. Typically, this approach was most evident in supply and demand analysis, where large numbers of strangers are assumed to interact with many other strangers in perfectly competitive markets. Impersonal behavior is the typical mode of interaction in this situation. Yet economics has more than that impersonal perspective to offer in its investigation into human relations. Many situations investigated by economists are not impersonal. Competitive models provide insights into the movement of prices and the allocation of scarce resources, but very few markets are characterized by perfect competition. Most markets involve just a few firms who attempt to maximize the personal loyalty of consumers to their brand name. Students are curious about Nike or Coke and less curious about egg farmers. Ironically, in this global *village*, markets can become very personal. For example, book publishers tend to know their competitors' products, consultants, and even individual phone numbers very well. The two gas stations on the same corner care more about each other than about the thousands of other stations spread across the state. In the authors' judgment, these relationships do not differ greatly from high school students' working out of dating arrangements. Economics can provide some fresh insights into human behavior.

The purpose of this paper is to examine a few important ideas from economics and suggest how they can be used in the school curriculum.

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Some of these ideas have long traditions in the field but are currently, in our judgment, overlooked or ignored in modern courses. Other ideas are more newly conceived or snared from other fields of study and put to good use in the economics field. Our intent is captured in the quotes that begin this paper: we will emphasize the importance of using economic reasoning and strategic thinking to investigate human behavior. In no way does this paper exhaust the number of fresh ideas available in economics, but we hope it contributes to some interesting conversations about the potential of economic analysis to improve what students learn in the secondary social science curriculum.

Golden Oldies: Scarcity, Choice, and Cost

Economics is not about money: it is the study of how people choose to use scarce resources. Scarcity is the most important idea in economics. Without scarcity there are no choices, no options, no costs, no trade-offs, no requirement for people to economize. This observation identifies a causal relationship that helps explain human behavior. Yet, this idea is probably the least understood, most poorly taught idea in the social science field. Too often, it serves as an "empty" concept with little explanatory power. Every student learns to say it, but very few understand its implications. To most people, it means "not enough of what I want." Using that mutated version of scarcity, students find it very hard to understand how abundant goods like water and love can be scarce.

The typical textbook definition of scarcity—"a condition that arises because society does not have enough resources to produce all the things people want" (Clayton 1999)—does little to help students understand the complexity of this problem. Try the following experiment. Ask teachers or students the following questions: "If you have three small bottles of water and six people who want to drink a small bottle of water, is water scarce? If you have six small bottles of water and three people who want to drink a small bottle of water, is water scarce?" Most people see water as scarce in the first situation and not scarce in the second situation, but an economist would answer that water is scarce in both circumstances.

To an economist, the water is scarce in both situations because it has several alternative uses—current consumption vs. future consumption, drinking water vs. plant irrigation, washing water vs. water for "splash it on your neighbor" horseplay. These uses are mutually exclusive. The water cannot be used simultaneously for all its valuable uses; therefore, it is scarce. People will not treat something as scarce unless

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they are giving up something of value for it. Scarcity says we must make choices—we cannot have it all. By implication, that which we choose must be worth the cost.

In like manner, the ideas of choice and costs have also taken on impoverished meanings in everyday conversation. The word choice is often substituted for the word *alternative*, as in "Bill Gates has a lot of choices" or "I had no choice." Finally, the word cost is limited to financial interactions, and the word *free* now implies a costless relationship, as in "The best things in life are free." These meanings leave teachers of economics in a difficult situation. These teachers cannot talk about the most important things in life—falling in love, dealing with tragedy, responding to inspiration, for example—unless they make the students discard all their current understanding of the key concepts in the course. A short aside here. Many people think falling in love is one of the best things in life that is "free." How far from the truth! What happens when you fall in love? You sacrifice your friends, your work, your future, and your contentment when you fall in love. It consumes your thoughts and days. It also leaves you at risk of a broken heart. The course of love rarely runs smoothly. Why do we persist in telling our children that love is free? Mature, loving people like economists recognize that the very costs that we bear for love are what make it so precious. It is worth the cost! To suggest it can be had with no sacrifice cheapens love far more than exploring the costs involved.

We propose to use the idea of scarcity in a fresh manner to solve a reoccurring school problem. In most schools, students do not treat their textbooks with much respect. The textbooks become lost, torn, and dropped. Rarely are they read as completely as teachers would like. Several explanations exist for this problem. Students are young and forgetful. If they were all 40 years old, there would be no problem. Students have short attention spans so the books are lost when they space out. The reader may feel free to add to the list.

How might an economist solve the problem or at least reduce it in degree? The answer is suggested by a unique definition of scarcity. Let us state that "something is scarce when it has **at least two** valuable uses." Second, let us define a valuable use as one for which individuals willingly sacrifice something, they bear a cost for the use. If people are not willing to sacrifice for use of the thing, it is not scarce to those people and their behavior will reflect that judgment.

How can students learn to treat textbooks as scarce? They must see the textbooks as having a valuable second use. Right now, textbooks only have one valuable use to students—as a source of important course

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content. Below is a teaching vignette that should help students understand how the value of the textbook can change.

> *Explain to students that prices can influence how we use resources. Ask them to predict how most students would respond to the following school policy changes with regard to their textbooks.*
>
> - *Individual textbooks will be purchased by the school district at the end of each school year. All students will be allowed to return their books and be paid $5, $20, or $40 for each book. They will receive $40 if the book looks like new, has not been written in, and is clean; $20 if it has been used but not written in; and $5 if it is dirty, written in, but still usable. Ask the students how they would change their use of the textbooks.*
> - *Then announce a change in policy. The school board is worried that students will keep the books in storage and not use them, so the board has changed the pricing policy. The school district will pay $5 for a perfectly clean book, $20 for a book that is clean and not written in, and $40 for a clean, well used book with study notes written in the margins. The $40 will be paid only if the margin notes are insightful and extensive. Ask the students how they would change their use of the textbooks* (Anderson and Wentworth 1997).

These two policies create alternative uses for the textbooks. The texts remain valuable as a means of learning the course content, but they also have value as potential income at the end of the school year. As a consequence of the policies, fewer textbooks would be lost or damaged. This scarcity perspective may be applied to students' lives, environmental problems, or national economic issues. It has potential to improve thinking and understanding because it makes the link between cause and effect easier to understand than do abstract definitions about too few resources and too many wants.

Golden Oldies Part II: Choice, Incentives, and the Tragedy of the Commons

Unfortunately for economics, inquiry, discovery, and inductive thinking became the pedagogy of preference in the social studies. Economics lends itself better to deductive reasoning. Economists cannot replicate real behavior in labs nor can they typically conduct controlled experimental studies to build reliability like a natural science. They must rely on deductive reasoning in economic models to discipline inquiry, test hypotheses, and evaluate evidence. In like manner, students

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can learn to use this technique to discipline their inquiry, to avoid hasty conclusions, and to think critically about counterintuitive solutions. The following section is our attempt to demonstrate how economics can take a basic premise and use deductive reasoning to evaluate a proposition made about future water problems.

Paul Simon, the former Senator from Illinois, has published a book about the impending world water crisis (Simon 1998). His reasoning proceeds along the following path. First, human demand for water will increase as populations and economies grow. Second, both world population and the world economy are growing rapidly. Third, the world supply of water cannot change since it is mandated by the amount deeded to the Blue Planet by Mother Nature. Therefore, we will have great water shortages in the near future.

Simon maintains that the supply of water cannot increase. Most economists would disagree and argue that the supply of water—the amount made available for human use—can and will increase. To explain that point, bear with us for a short review of a basic assumption of economics:

> All social phenomena emerge from the choices that individuals make in response to expected costs and benefits to themselves.
>
> Paul Heyne in *The Economic Way of Thinking*

Wide agreement exists among economists that this statement communicates a basic assumption about human behavior that underlies most economic analysis. They assume people choose because the existence of scarcity forces them to make choices. In turn, these choices result in observable human behavior. These choices are made in a purposeful manner that attempts to avoid or minimize personal costs while gaining personal benefits. That statement can be built upon by the next statement—"Incentives are the expected costs and benefits that influence individual choices." This statement is occasionally summarized as "Incentives Matter!" Finally, one corollary construction is added—"A change in incentives will cause a predictable change in the choices individuals make." (See Table 1 for a more complete list of economic reasoning premises.)

Now we return to the water example armed with these assumptions to determine whether a change in incentives might increase the supply of water. What if people in water-rich areas like Newfoundland were rewarded for sharing their fresh water with others? Would they offer water to others, especially water not currently used for human consumption in Newfoundland? Of course they would. Citizens of Newfoundland

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Table 1. Basic Assumptions of Economic Reasoning

1.All people choose. The problem of relative scarcity (human wants exceed the limited resources available to satisfy those wants at any point in time) forces all people to make choices regardless of their age, income, etc. Recognizing this choice-making necessity is the first step in explaining much of human behavior. The necessity of choice, and recognizing that necessity, are part of what it means to be human.

2. All choices involve alternatives. A person must give up something important in order to gain something important. Assessing relative costs and benefits is integral to all decision making. Attempting to minimize what is lost (foregone) and maximize what is gained (benefit) is a fundamental characteristic of human behavior. Choices are not made on the basis of costs or benefits alone; instead, both factors are considered. This does not mean that people come out even on every choice (e.g., that costs always equal benefits). Instead, human beings try to make the benefits exceed the costs in a choice-making situation.

3. People choose purposefully. A purposeful choice is a rational consideration of alternatives. People make what they consider their "best" choices; they do not attempt to make bad or poor choices.

4. People are different and hold different criteria to assess "best" choices. Two bright, well-informed people may consider the same alternatives and make completely contradictory choices because their criteria are different. In each case, the individual thinks he or she is making the best choice, although the outcomes are very different. A person's choice cannot be explained unless we have some idea of what is important to the individual.

5. People respond to incentives in a predictable way. Incentives are positive rewards for desired behavior. If the reward is increased, more people are likely to behave as desired; if the reward is withdrawn, people will exhibit the behavior less frequently. Incentives may be financial, emotional, professionally enhancing, and so on. They are not limited to mere financial rewards.

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6. People are flexible and dynamic in their tastes. People change. As people receive more and more of something they value, they value an additional amount of it less than the previous amount. Also, people are influenced by non-economic information, for example, advertising or information from a friend. The tendency for people to be influenced and to value increasing amounts of something less and less helps explain what happens to the demand for products. These tendencies also help explain changes in fashion, car design, etc.

7. All choices are future oriented. One cannot choose to change a past behavior. All people make choices based on an assessment of the right move for the future and on past experiences. Everyone operates from limited information; thus, mistakes (about the future) are made. Choices do not always develop as anticipated. The future orientation of choices adds risk and uncertainty to life.

8. Individual alternatives are influenced by the choices of others. We live as part of a social system, dependent upon one another. As individual choices change, so does the system of relationships. There is no system outside the actions of individuals. For example, as individuals purchase fewer American-made automobiles, alternatives for employment for U.S. auto workers also change.

are in fact trying to provide that service (although they must first overcome resistance from the national government of Canada).

What if people were rewarded for conserving water currently used for irrigation? Will they behave in a more conserving manner? In Oregon farmers are no longer penalized for not using irrigation water (the old "use it or lose it" rule has been withdrawn). Now they have the right to use the water or to sell that water share. When approached by conservationists interested in preserving stream flow for steelhead fish, the farmers agreed to conserve and use less water in return for compensation for giving up the alternative use.

What if people were rewarded for converting nondrinkable water into drinkable water? We can safely convert salt water and sewer water into clean, drinking water. It is just a matter of rewarding people to perform this task. Does the economist think the supply of water to people can increase in the future? Of course. Does that knowledge suggest a different set of policies to deal with the problem? It should. The threat of impending water shortages tends to lead policy-makers to artificial water rationing programs that involve great sacrifice, little benefit, and

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large enforcement costs. An incentives perspective opens up an infinite number of less costly options to resolve this problem.

The influence of incentives as a causal factor in human behavior is also used to explain the Tragedy of the Commons (Hardin 1968). Garret Hardin described the problem in the following manner. Fish are often harvested in an open access commons area of the ocean. People have no rights to the fish until the fish are caught and harvested for human use. Most fishers realize that overfishing will reduce the size of future fish populations, but they tend to keep fishing at a nonsustainable rate. Often people believe this behavior is motivated by the fisher's greed or ignorance. To an economist, incentives play a more important role. If one fisher wishes to conserve, that effort will be fruitless because the fish will be caught by another fisher. The conservationist's efforts go unrewarded. In fact, one could argue that the good stewards are punished for not fishing: they lose income. Meanwhile the diligent fisher is rewarded with a fish catch and income. The open access commons has a tendency to break down because the reward system favors the harvester and punishes the steward. The commons cannot be saved until new rules and enforcement techniques alter the existing reward system.

How do we correct such a problem? Instead of assuming the fishers are unable to judge their own best interests, rules could be constructed to allow scarcity and cost to influence their choices. Tradable fishing quotas in some fisheries now serve that purpose. Each fisher has a quota of fish to be caught. They can choose when to catch the fish-now or later when they are mature. They can choose to sell their quota rights to other people, either other fishers or conservationists who wish to leave the fish in the sea. The fishers enforce the rules against illegal fishing because poachers endanger their share of the fish population. This policy recognizes the reality of scarcity and brings it close to the decision-makers, allowing them to judge their own best interests. Such policies are now serving to increase fish populations in New Zealand and Iceland and improve the elephant population in South Africa.

Below is a second teaching idea to freshen up an economics course. It asks students to investigate the influence of incentive changes on the behavior of their families.

- *Ask the students to do a home survey. Explain that the city council is considering a new plan to sell water by the gallon. New prices are being considered: $.01 per gallon, $10 per gallon, or $100 per gallon. Students should ask their parents how the family members would change their use of water to adjust to these prices. Include these water use examples: (1) showers/baths,(2) car washing, (3) drinking water/cooking*

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water, (4) toilet flushes, (5) watering flowers, plants, gardens, and lawns.

Answer: Students and their parents would cut back on both the amount of water used per activity and the number of different uses as the price moves from $.01 to $100 per gallon. No one likes to pay higher prices, and consumers do alter their behavior as prices change. They do not keep using the same amount of water as the price increases.

- *Next ask the students to reconsider the situation described above. What would happen if people were allowed to use up to 100 gallons of water per week? They would be charged $1 per gallon whether they use the water or not, so the total cost of water per week would be $100 to anyone on the water line. But consumers also would be allowed to sell any or all of the 100 gallons of their water allowance. How would they choose to use the water if they could sell it for $.10, $1, or $100 per gallon? How does this behavior compare to that of a farmer with the opportunity to use the water on his/her land for irrigation or sell it to environmentalists who want to keep the water in the river?*

  Answer: Students will realize that at $.10 per gallon, little incentive would exist to save and sell the water. At $10 and $100 per gallon, people would dramatically curtail their water use in order to reap the benefits of extra income by selling the water. This situation is very much like that of a farmer who will choose to use water more carefully if there is a good income to be earned by selling unused water (Anderson and Wentworth 1997).

The Cool Stuff We Should Get To: Strategic Thinking

In the previous two sections, we argued for greater attention to be given to scarcity and incentives as the core ideas of economics, ideas fundamental to explaining how individuals and institutions make decisions. These two ideas link cause and effect, and most of the principles taught in the traditional economics curriculum flow from them. However, in the process of teaching these principles, we often leave our students with a view of economics as a sterile collection of demand and supply curves whose relevance is questionable. Markets are taught as impersonal arbiters and allocators. Firms become cold calculators of

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profit, while households act as collections of materialist consumers, each only reacting to the incentives and prices of the marketplace. Sometimes the government is seen as a useful institution, even though it often establishes economically silly policies.

Economists may find this approach intellectually satisfying because it has led to a deep understanding of human behavior, but it tends to leave students cold. As the quote by Shapiro and Varian suggests, perhaps that is because we too often leave out the cool stuff. Perhaps our students know better than the instructors that there is more to the story than we are telling them.

Another way of interpreting our educational task is to ask the following question: Does the behavior we try to explain encompass enough of the behavior our students are curious about? Perhaps they don't care whether a consumer maximizes utility by buying more of a commodity whose price has fallen. They would rather know, for example, how economics relates to their social life and whether it can tell them if they should study hard for their next exam, why their teachers are so mean sometimes, not accepting late homework even when they have a good excuse, and why people expect them to get dressed up for a job interview.

Of course, not all questions have to be so personal to be interesting. For example, why do consumer electronics stores advertise that they will match each others' prices, and is this policy good for consumers? Why do states offer substantial tax breaks and subsidies to firms that agree to bring investment and jobs into their states, and is this policy good for taxpayers? Why do we have trade restrictions when 97 percent of economists agree that free trade is good policy? Should we forgive the debt of Third World Countries?

Answering each of these questions requires a small modification in the way we typically interpret the words of Paul Heyne quoted earlier: "All social phenomena emerge from the choices that individuals make in response to expected costs and benefits to themselves." Taken at face value, this statement seems to imply that we are all given a set of alternatives from which we select the best one, with little or no concern about how our decision might affect anyone else. Do I select a Honda, or a Ford? Should we increase or decrease production this month? In each of the examples above, however, the decision-makers are faced not with alternative outcomes, but rather alternative strategies. In each case, their decisions are interactive, or strategic, in the sense that what each chooses to do depends critically on what others choose to do. Scarcity and incentives still influence choices, but it now becomes an interactive process.

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Our choices, then, are often not between discrete alternative outcomes, but between alternative strategies. Consider the interactive, strategic nature of the earlier questions: If I take my date to McDonalds this weekend, I will save some money, but will she infer from my choice of restaurant that I'm cheap? If I go to the big game this weekend and my classmates are also there, the curve on the exam will be lowered and we could still all get good grades. But if my classmates all study instead, then I had better study, too. If the teacher lets me off this time, maybe she expects that other students will be encouraged to hand in late assignments in the future, and she'd rather not send that message. If I don't get dressed up for the interview, what signal will I be sending to the interviewer and how might she respond to it? These examples might not sound like economics, but they share a common structure with much of economic analysis. In each of these cases, and in the more traditional economic examples that followed, there are at least two participants, **each** of whom is choosing a strategy. The human behavior we observe is the interaction of all these strategic moves.

Consider the following story that has traveled the email circuit for years. Two friends were doing quite well in a chemistry class at Duke University. So well, in fact, that they went to a party at the University of Virginia the weekend prior to their final exam, scheduled for Monday morning. The party was so good that they overslept, returning too late to adequately prepare. Rather than take the exam unprepared, they pleaded with their professor to allow them an extra day, giving the excuse that they had a flat tire and no spare. Granted their request, they studied hard on Monday for the test. Tuesday morning, their professor put them in separate rooms and gave them a one-question test: "Which tire?" The students forgot one important thing about strategic thinking: their professor was also going to behave strategically. Knowing this, if the students wanted to play this game well, they should have anticipated his question and prepared accordingly!

Strategic thinking is the domain of game theory, which has broad application to economics, sociology, biology-any field that studies individuals who interact with one another. Obviously, that includes politics, which implies that government policies—state industrial promotion policy, trade restrictions, the emergence of property rights, the open commons, command and control pollution policy, immigration law, to name but a few—are themselves the outcomes of strategic interactions among individuals. Even the development of markets and other social institutions can be considered outcomes of strategic choices (Dixit and Skeath 1999).

Game theory has a long tradition in economics, probably first identifiable as such in Cournot's 1838 discussion of how two firms might

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decide on what price to charge for the sparkling water from their wells (Cournot 1838). If both maintained a high price, they could share in the monopoly profits. Yet each one could do better (at least initially) by trying to undercut the other. This is a version of the well-known "prisoner's dilemma," which has wide application.

The Prisoner's Dilemma: A Short Explanation

The name "prisoner's dilemma" derives from a simple example: police have captured two suspects and are interrogating them in separate rooms. Each can either remain silent or confess; each must select a strategy not knowing which strategy will be chosen by the other. So what are the possible outcomes? If the other remains silent, confession will be rewarded by the favorable treatment given to state's witness. If the other confesses, remaining silent will result in especially harsh treatment. It is clear that confession is the dominant strategy in such a situation: no matter which strategic choice the other makes, confession will bring a less severe penalty. Confession by both prisoners results in each of them faring worse, however, than if each had remained silent.

An education example may help illustrate this dilemma. Imagine that Harvard and Yale are both recruiting a young minority student for admission. Given his potential, he is "worth" a large scholarship but, of course, each school would prefer to get him for a smaller outlay so they can maximize the number of student grants in their scholarship budget. Harvard's potential outcomes can be summarized in the following table:

		Yale: High award	Yale: Low award
Harvard	High award	3	1
Harvard	Low award	4	2

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Harvard's preferred outcome is to offer a high award while Yale offers a low reward, as Harvard is then assured of recruiting the student. The worst outcome, ranked fourth, is to offer a low award while Yale offers a high award, for they will surely lose him. If the offers match, Harvard may or may not get their recruit, but both offering low is preferred to both offering high for cost reasons. Yale's outcomes are symmetrical with Harvard's.

Clearly, Harvard's move is to offer a high award: regardless of Yale's offer, a high offer yields a better outcome. Likewise, Yale's best move is to offer a high award. Neither has improved their odds of recruiting the candidate, and each could have done better had they simply offered the low award.

That the observed choices and resulting outcomes are not in the best interest of the players is a feature common to all prisoner's dilemma situations. Reconsider the bottled water example mentioned earlier. Charging a low price is equivalent to confession. If the other firm charges a high price, one can do better by undercutting it. If the other charges a low price, selecting a high price will cause lost market share and reduced profits. The low price is the dominant strategy for each firm, yet results in lower profits than if both firms collude. Likewise, the two universities could have done better had they somehow agreed to both offer low awards.[1]

It is easy to see how the framework of this simple "game" can be extended to some of the examples listed earlier. Studying hard is the dominant strategy, even though all students would be better off (in their own minds, anyway!) if none of them did. Each job applicant would be better off if everyone dressed more casually, but dressing up is a dominant strategy. Each state feels it must offer tax breaks as long as other states are doing the same, even though outlawing such a policy at the federal level would improve the welfare of all states. Even the tragedy of the commons can be viewed through the prisoner's dilemma lens. Each fisher is faced with two strategies-either fish or don't fish. Regardless of anyone else's choice, each individual's dominant strategy is to fish. Unfortunately, the outcome of this "game" results in depletion of the fishing stock and ultimately to lost income for the fishers. If all

[1]Incidentally, the universities have historically met, along with other Ivy League institutions, to compare names and awards with each other. The Justice Department filed suit against this practice, and all but one institution settled out of court.

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fishers cut back on their fishing, all would prosper, but none can trust the others to cooperate.[2]

How can the game be changed to bring about a more socially desirable outcome? A common strategy is to ask individuals, corporations, and governments to be more "socially conscious." Unfortunately, this strategy doesn't work very well. People perceive this behavior as a guarantee of lower incomes, as cheating pays and the good guys finish last. Clearly, a change in incentives is required, but who will accomplish this task? It is here we need to introduce another group of players into the game: the government. The government, and the policies it introduces, are themselves the outcomes of strategic interactions. What we need to know is this: Can the government be expected to solve this breakdown in cooperation, and will it solve it in the best interests of society at large?

As we will discuss below, government action is not required in certain situations-cooperative behavior will emerge without the coercive power of the state. In other circumstances, such as the fishery example, government policy may be needed to solve the breakdown in cooperation through establishment of appropriate incentives. Still, we must consider that government is an institution run by individuals who respond to choices and incentives, and the policies they adopt may not be socially desirable.

Another example of the prisoner's dilemma may help to illustrate the point. Two neighbors desire a fence between them. Collectively, the benefits exceed the cost, but each prefers the other to do the work. If the other begins the work, the best strategy is to plan a quick getaway vacation—shirk, in other words. If the other doesn't begin the work, the best strategy is to wait to avoid bearing all the costs. (Unless, of course, the individual benefits are high enough to justify bearing all the costs of the work.) Here again, the outcome of the dominant strategies is not in the "social" interest of the two parties, for the fence remains unbuilt. Each tries to freeload on the other. Social custom—each does half the work by mutual agreement—is usually enough to solve this problem. But what if there are more than a couple of people involved—people who don't even know each other?

Trade policy shares many of the features of this fence-building example. Each member of society who might be harmed by a trade restriction on sugar would like to stop its implementation, but the small harm the restriction imposes on each individual is not worth the individual

[2]For an example of an in-class exercise illustrating these concepts, see Hemingway and Whitney (1989).

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costs of fighting it: better to wait and hope someone else takes on this task. The resulting dominant strategy and outcome is that no one will take action. However, another game is simultaneously taking place among the much smaller group of individuals who might benefit from the sugar trade restriction. They would like to put up a fence against import competition and perceive the costs of inaction as substantially higher. Like a group of families trying to protect their children from a neighbor's pit bull, their dominant strategy is to cooperate in building the fence-lobbying Congress, in this instance. Consequently, the government perceives a strategic advantage in passing trade-restricting legislation. Although such policies are not in society's best interest (collective costs exceed collective benefits), the government acts strategically to set policies that are in its own best interest.[3] Perhaps this example illustrates the failure of economists to influence public policy. Like the two chemistry students, we should understand that we are in a strategic game and anticipate the play by our strategic rivals.

The fence example shows that either collective action or collective *in*action can be the outcome of a game. If cooperation provides enough individual rewards, people will cooperate. Sometimes, however, the individual rewards are realized by the players' recognition that the prisoner's dilemma game will be played not once, but repeatedly.

Consider the high price/low price game again. Suppose that these two firms were to set their prices not just once, but every day. The high-price strategy might now prevail as a dominant **long-term** strategy. Cheating on this strategy might meet with a "punishing" strategy by one's rival, and this punishment might be enough to deter such behavior.

Are there fairly general rules for when such deterrence works so the cooperative outcome prevails? Likewise, in the commons problem, under what sorts of arrangement will the common good prevail? The answers are probably not surprising. First, a relatively small and stable group of participants is required. Historically, the commons problem was "solved" in very small communities of long-time residents. Second, the benefits of cooperation must outweigh the costs of monitoring it. Third, non-cooperative behavior must be detectable and the punishment certain. This rule implies that communication is important, both as a means of detecting the cheaters and as a signal to cooperators that the cheaters are being punished. Finally, the future "matters" in the sense

[3]According to a study by Stephen V. Marks (1993), restrictions on sugar imports to the United States cost each of the 240 million U.S. consumers approximately $11.50, while increasing the incomes of 10,000 U.S. sugar beet farmers and 1,000 sugar cane farmers by $50,000 and $500,000 each, respectively.

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that, if players see that the game will soon be ending, the incentive to cheat will be strong and cooperation may break down. Small communities using common fishing and hunting grounds enforced strict rules about who received the greatest amount of the catch and how many fish should be allowed to go unharmed upstream. These restrictions were built into religious practices and enforced by elders, warriors, and priests. The lobster beds in the Atlantic Ocean were also enforced by informal codes that discouraged newcomers from placing pots in the areas. At times the code was enforced by destroying the pots and the new boats. (For a more complete discussion of the commons, see McCay and Acheson 1987.)

Now let's return to our example of the consumer electronics firms that publicize their low-price-matching offers. In the context of strategic thinking, we can readily see that this strategy effectively communicates to each firm a commitment to cooperate, as well as a guarantee of swift retaliation for any firm that attempts to "cheat." Perhaps surprisingly, in this ongoing game such a strategy is seen as *anti*competitive. It works against consumer interests and involves the consumer as the regulator of the arrangement.

Cool Stuff: Other Examples

Examples of strategic behavior abound in our personal lives and have natural counterparts in the economics curriculum. A small sample illustrates the breadth of applications.

Bargaining

In a traditional economics curriculum, most markets are viewed as impersonal. Price is either set by the firm, through monopoly power, or by the market forces of supply and demand. In reality, many "market" transactions and outcomes depend on bargaining—the personal counterpart of markets. Our children bargain over who gets to choose which shows to watch on the family TV. Our spouses bargain with us over decisions about discipline, career moves, where to vacation, and who does the housework. We bargain over the price of a used car. The authors of this paper bargained over topics to be covered! On a larger scale, bargaining is the rule rather than the exception in markets in developing countries. Labor and management bargain over wages; employers bargain with insurance companies over copays and deductibles; countries bargain over trade policies; superpowers bargain over missile-reduction treaties. Economics tells us that no bargain will take place

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unless both sides gain. Game theory has much to say about how those gains are split among the participants. In addition, experimental evidence tells us much about human behavior and motivation.

Perhaps the most well-known bargaining simulation is the "Ultimatum Game." This teaching idea illustrates several aspects of bargaining theory.

> *Break the class into pairs of students. For each pair, identify one student as the "proposer" and the other as the "chooser." In this game, there are two rounds consisting of an exchange between the two players. A pot of money—or a bag of M&M's, perhaps—is to be split between them.*
>
> *Round 1—The Ultimatum Game. The "proposer" proposes a split to the "chooser." The chooser can either accept the proposed split, in which case each gets her proposed share, or reject it, in which case each gets nothing. No negotiating between the two is allowed. Record on the board the proposed split and whether it was rejected or accepted. With students, look for patterns.*
>
> *Round 2-The Dictator Game. The "proposer" proposes a split to the "chooser." This time, the chooser must accept the proposed split. No negotiating is allowed. Record on the board the proposed split and whether it was rejected or accepted. Again, look for patterns with the students. Compare and contrast with the outcomes of the Ultimatum Game.*

A simple analysis of the potential outcomes of the ultimatum game suggests that the chooser is better off accepting any positive amount over nothing; the proposer, knowing this, should then propose a split of a penny to the chooser while retaining the rest for herself.

The experimental evidence—and your classroom results—will suggest otherwise. It is common for a chooser to reject trivially small splits, even splits where the lost payoff is substantial. Likewise, few proposers offer very small splits. Several possible explanations arise. First, people may have an ingrained sense of fairness that prohibits them from offering small shares. Or, perhaps they have a fear that the chooser will reject an "unreasonable" offer. Surprisingly, experimental evidence from the dictator variant shows that a majority choose to keep no more than 70 percent of the pot. This game reminds us that people's actions are purposeful, which is not the same as "motivated solely by self-interest." That is, emotions and feelings of pride play a role in the bargaining outcome, something divorce lawyers understand implicitly!

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The ultimatum game has interesting consequences when played more than once. Much like the prisoner's dilemma, there is now a role for punishment (by the chooser) in leading to socially preferred outcomes. Players who are known to be generous attract other generous players as partners. They do quite well over time, while "greedy" players fare poorly. Perhaps not surprisingly, experimental evidence shows women fare better over time than men in such situations (Dixit and Skeath 1999, 534-536).

Information in Games

José robbed a bank and fled south across the border with the Texas Rangers in pursuit. They caught up with him, but he knew no English and they knew no Spanish. Once they found a translator, the following discussion took place:

"Where is the money?"

"The gringos want to know where you hid the money."

"Tell them I will never tell."

"José says he will never tell."

"Tell him that if he doesn't tell, we will kill him" and they all aimed their pistols at José.

"They say they will kill you if you don't tell."

"Tell them it is by the bridge over the river."

"José says he is not afraid to die."

In any bargaining situation, there is the give-and-take of information. We want to reveal little of what we are willing to pay for the new car; the dealer is likewise unwilling to reveal how little he will accept. We want to make a good first impression on our date or at a job interview, while our counterpart is trying to elicit **accurate** information. Can we trust what the realtor tells us about the property we're being shown? How do we convince the loan officer that we're a good risk?

Note again the personal nature of these market transactions. Many borrowers and lenders come together to determine an equilibrium interest rate, but whether we get a loan depends on our unique circumstances and personal ability to convey the appropriate information to a specific lender. Strategic behavior analysis forces us to consider how threats, promises, signals, and screens affect observable "market" outcomes. For example, we observe that individuals with more schooling obtain higher incomes. The traditional market explanation is that skills, as developed by schools, are being rewarded. Yet perhaps it is the case that students are simply using schooling as a signal—and firms using school

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as a screening device-to convey information about their innate ability. Knowledge of game theory and strategic behavior can lead researchers to the conditions under which such screening and signaling will be effective, thereby discriminating between the two alternative explanations. Consider the following teaching idea, which conveys some sense of strategic information flows.

> *Tell your students that they are in charge of a major coffee importing and retailing firm. Coffee growers in developing countries often employ workers under very poor working conditions, and coffee plantations have been seen has harmful to the environment. Public opinion has turned against them, causing coffee sales to plummet. Ask students to consider alternative strategies to convince the public that their company cares about worker rights and the environment. Which strategies will be "believable"?*
>
> *Answer: Only those policies that impose significant costs on the firm will be believable. Simply saying you "care" is not enough, as anyone can do this. This explains why firms often donate substantial funds to environmental causes, or why Starbucks recently began purchasing substantially higher priced environment-friendly coffee beans.*

As another example, suppose a car manufacturer has decided to offer a 100,000-mile warranty on its cars, far in excess of the current standard. Strategically, this will be interpreted by potential buyers as a credible signal of the car's quality, because no rational manufacturer would willingly offer such a warranty unless it expects to profit by it. Other manufacturers may or may not match the new warranty, but those who do not have also signaled something about the quality of their cars. Like playing the familiar game of "chicken," not playing the game when challenged means you have just played and lost!

The arguments regarding national health policy can perhaps be better understood in this information context. Those who favor a market-based solution to health care allocation see the virtues of competition and the incentives of market forces. Those who favor some form of government intervention see the more personal aspects of these market forces and the strategic behavior that arises: imperfect information on the part of insurers and the insured, moral hazard, and adverse selection. They reason that the market may not harness these forces to the social good.

Finally, strategic information flows play an important role in macroeconomic policy. For example, the credibility of U.S. threats to retaliate against foreign tariffs and our commitment to low tariffs gener-

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ally is enhanced by conforming to the rules of the World Trade Organization. Keynesian-type unemployment may be the result of imperfect policy signals being sent by the government. The credibility of a stated low-inflation monetary policy is strengthened through the political independence of the Fed.

In fact, the Fed faces its own moral hazard problem. Should the United States enter a recession, the Fed will feel strong pressure to expand the money supply and lower interest rates. Short-term, the policy will have its intended consequences, but will likely result in higher inflation. Unfortunately, it will also remove any credibility the Fed has as an inflation-fighter. It is much like negotiating with terrorists or kidnappers. One would like to get the hostages back, but not at the cost of encouraging further terrorist activities. On a global scale, we ought very seriously to consider the impact on future lending—and subsequent repayment—should the international coalition known as Jubilee 2000 be successful in its attempt to forgive third world debt.

There are, of course, too many other examples of strategic behavior in economics to consider fully here. Auction design, bidding strategy, strategic voting, externalities and public goods as collective action and coordination games, and evolutionary games all have applications to economic behavior and analysis of market outcomes. If we are looking for fresh ideas in economics, strategic behavior is a rich mine in which to dig. If we make economics more relevant, and the behavior it studies more interesting, our students will be more motivated to study it.

Conclusion

Economics can be a better experience that just learning a list of important concepts. It does not have to be restricted to sterile, contrived examples of supply and demand of widgets in its attempt to express insight into human behavior. Greater emphasis should be placed on developing an in-depth understanding of scarcity, the influence of incentives, and strategic thinking; these ideas apply to simple, straightforward personal examples and to more complex, morally difficult, international issues. Economics education should also include repeated practice with deductive thinking in order to encourage critical thinking skills and creative thinking about policy solutions. This change would move the subject closer to Keynes's vision of a "technique of thinking" and encourage students to see economics more as the subject with the "cool stuff." Paul Heyne and Thomas Johnson put it well when they wrote; "The economic way of thinking...resembles a magician's top hat: It seems to be empty; but in practiced hands it produces a fascinating ar-

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ray of surprises. And once you've seen for yourself how it's done, you can go back home and astonish all your friends."

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Economics Instruction in U.S. High Schools: 1980-2000

By William B. Walstad

Economics instruction in high school is critical for developing economic literacy in the United States. At the lower grades, the limited amount of economics taught serves primarily as a foundation for more intensive education in economics in high school. Economics is certainly taught at the postsecondary level, but many high school graduates do not attend a college or university, and even those who do may not take an economics course during their undergraduate education. Economic education in high school presents the best opportunities for improving the economic understanding of *all* youth. Missing this opportunity may have negative consequences for the economic literacy of individuals and the nation.[1]

This chapter assesses whether teaching and learning of economics in high school have improved since 1980. The first section describes enrollment trends in economics and related courses, the influence of mandates and testing, and the inclusion of economics in different subjects. In the second section, comparisons are made between economics and other social studies courses. The third section discusses recommendations for economics content to be taught in high schools and related controversies. The fourth section briefly reviews the empirical research on outcomes from coursework in economics and economics achievement among high school students. Section five turns to teacher education, examining its influence on student performance. Changes in instructional materials are explained in section six. The seventh section

[1]For discussion of the cases for economic education, see Stigler (1970) and Watts (1992).

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describes the role of economists and organizations in supporting economic education. The concluding section discusses future directions.[2]

Economics and Related Courses

Economics can be taught as a separate course, in related courses, or infused in other subjects in the K-12 curriculum. Data and studies show that inclusion of economics in the curriculum has increased over the past two decades, but the extent of economics teaching is still limited.

Separate Course

The traditional economics course is taught in the social studies curriculum in high school. In a typical sequence, students take a year of civics in grade 9, a year of world history or world studies in grade 10, and a year of U.S. history in grade 11. In grade 12, students have the option of enrolling in two semester-length courses from a set of possibilities including economics, U.S. government, psychology, sociology, or other courses (Jenness 1990, 20). As would be expected, there are variations from this sequence because some high schools offer economics in grades 9, 10, or 11 and because, since 1980, more school districts and states have made economics a required course for graduation.

Enrollments in economics courses in public and private high schools have increased dramatically over the years, as shown in Table 1. In 1982, only about 24 percent of students graduating from public and private secondary schools took an economics course in grades 9 to 12. By 1990, the percentage had risen by almost 20 points. From 1990 to 1994, the percentage of high school graduates taking a well-defined course in high school economics remained relatively constant at 44 percent.

If a course in economics is a minimum objective for achieving a basic level of economic understanding, the enrollment data suggest that significantly more students today are meeting that objective than in 1980. The problem is that more than half of high school graduates have not taken a separate course in economics. They are either learning about economics in other courses or not learning about economics in school at all.

[2]Prior work on some topics discussed in this chapter is found in Walstad (1992).

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Table 1: Percentage of High School Graduates Receiving Credit by Course and Selected Years, 1982-1994

	1982	1987	1990	1994
Economics (>0 credits)	**24.3**	**29.3**	**43.7**	**43.9**
Economics-Basic	**23.9**	**28.9**	**43.4**	**42.9**
Economics, theory	18.1	14.0	29.4	25.7
Economics and economic problems	4.9	14.8	13.9	17.3
Economics, other courses	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.1
Economics-College	**0.4**	**0.5**	**0.2**	**1.0**
Economics, college	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.2
AP economics	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Economics in Other Courses (>0 credits)				
American government & economics	2.6	8.5	10.1	12.1
Consumer economics	6.1	6.2	5.3	1.9
Consumer education	9.0	7.9	8.3	6.1
General business	17.8	16.7	15.8	14.9
Miscellaneous	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.1

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics (1998), Table 121, and Walstad and Rebeck (2000), Table 1, p. 95.

Government and Economics

The 1980s and 1990s saw the emergence of a "government and economics" course in the social studies curriculum. This course replaced the Problems of Democracy course that had declined in popularity since the 1960s and met the needs expressed in new state requirements. For example, the National Commission on Social Studies (1989) recommended that schools require two semester-length courses in the social studies at grade 12. One option was to have students take a course in government and a course in economics, each taught as a separate subject. Another option was to teach the two subjects together. The Commission expressed the view that a combined course focusing on political and economic theory with applications to the world in which students live would be a "challenging approach" and would be an "intellectually more pleasing" means of teaching the economics and political science content.

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Data in the bottom third of Table 1 show that the percentage of students who completed the government and economics course rose from 2 percent in 1982 to 12 percent in 1994. What is not clear from the transcript data, or even in the Commission's recommendations, is whether a combined course lasts for a year or a semester. A semester course may be more appealing to social studies educators because it allows students to take other social studies courses in another semester. In that case, however, a semester course in government and economics would not be equivalent to a semester course in economics.

Consumer and Business Courses

Some economic concepts are taught in consumer economics and consumer education courses for college-bound and non-college-bound students. The consumer economics courses are often taught in social studies, while the consumer education courses are often found in other areas of the high school curriculum, at least according to transcript data. In the early 1980s, about 15 percent of high school graduates took these consumer courses. The enrollment in these courses fell to 8 percent by 1994, most likely because of falling national interest in the "consumerism" popular in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Finally, some courses in general business cover basic concepts in microeconomics with applications to business issues and problems. The titles of such courses include introduction to business, cooperative business education, business and office education, entrepreneurship, and business and management. Enrollment in these courses stood at about 18 percent of high school graduates in 1982, but declined to about 15 percent in 1994, probably because business courses became more specialized, with the focus shifting to labor market preparation.

Course Mandates

The number of states requiring some type of course in economics for high school graduation largely explains why enrollments in both separate courses in economics and in courses in government and economics increased during the 1980s and early 1990s. By 1982, some type of an economics course was mandated in seven states (Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Oregon, South Carolina, and Tennessee). By 1987, mandates were in effect in 13 states (add Florida, Idaho, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Texas). Adoption of man-

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dates in California and New York in the late 1980s brought the total to 15 states by 1990.[3]

These economics mandates remained in effect through the mid-1990s, but the late 1990s saw Arizona and Oregon rescind their mandates. This development suggests that the percentage of public high school graduates taking an economics course in mandated states probably peaked in the mid-1990s, but the decline is likely to be minor because of the small size of the two states that dropped their mandates. Currently, 13 states have a mandate for an economics course (Dempsey 2000). There are no prospects for additions or subtractions to the list of states with mandates to suggest the number will soon change.

Most mandated courses would be similar to a traditional economics course, but legislation in some states calls for a particular emphasis. The legislation of several states gives attention to a course on the characteristics and features of the free enterprise system (Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas). One state mandate calls for coverage of personal finance and entrepreneurship in the economics course (New York). Another mandate combines the teaching of economics with civics or government (North Carolina), and another state calls for a course in basic business and economic education (New Hampshire). Thus, the economic content in mandated courses varies widely by state, and even in schools within a state.

Infusion

Another way that economics can be taught is through infusion of economic concepts and ideas into such other social studies courses as U.S. history, world history, and government or civics. This approach is especially popular because it gives educators the flexibility to fit economics instruction within the constraints of a school's curriculum. The demands for curriculum time often make it impossible or impractical for many students to take a separate course, especially at the middle school and elementary grades. Infusion can also help students learn basic economics throughout their education in preparation for a "capstone" course in economics in high school. Making economics an integral part of the education of all students, and not simply a subject that is taught

[3]Data on mandates through 1999 are reported in Walstad (1993). Indiana was included in that analysis, but it is not included in this listing because it has only a partial mandate. Indiana requires an economics course for high school graduation, but only for those students who want to receive a college preparatory endorsement on their diplomas.

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exclusively in a separate course for college-bound students, is certainly a worthwhile goal.

Schools have widely adopted the infusion strategy, in part because recent state legislation has encouraged the teaching of economics in various subjects in elementary and secondary grades. A recent survey found that 48 states and the District of Columbia had standards, guidelines, or proficiencies for teaching of economics in various grades of the school curriculum (Dempsey 2000). It should not be assumed, however, that all students in these states receive a similar type or a high quality of instruction in economics. The legislation differs by state, the implementation often depends on the school districts, and the quality of instruction varies by teacher.

Testing

States and school districts can encourage more teaching of economics by testing students. Such testing is usually part of a broader assessment of social studies at multiple grade levels, such as grades 4, 8, and 11. Economics questions are then only a small portion of any assessment measure, but their inclusion encourages teachers and schools to devote classroom time to a subject that otherwise would be neglected (Hallows and Solomon 1991). In 2000, about 22 states had state tests with economics items. Another nine states are developing such tests and plan to administer them between 2001 and 2004 (Dempsey 2000).

Students can also take voluntary tests in economics, some offered by states and others offered by nonprofit organizations. The Advanced Placement (AP) examinations in economics offered by the College Board were developed for high ability, college-bound students who wanted college credit for completing the equivalent of a one-semester course in microeconomics, in macroeconomics, or both courses. AP economics students attend a semester or yearlong course in high school that covers the content typical for most introductory college economics courses. In 2000, 23,761 students took the macroeconomics exam and 17,464 students took the microeconomics exam.[4] These numbers increased substantially from 1989, the first year of the test, when 3,198 students took the macroeconomics exam and 2,583 took the microeconomics exam (CEEB 1990).

Inclusion of economics in statewide testing programs and availability of the AP economics exam are positive indicators of the perceived

[4]Current data on AP economics can be obtained at *www.collegeboard.com/ap/economics*.

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value of economics. There has been less progress in testing economics at the federal level. The likely problem is that economics is still viewed as a minor subject in the education of high school students compared with the attention given to other subjects taught in social studies. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has conducted several assessments of history, geography, and civics at multiple grade levels. Economics has yet to be given the same treatment in federal testing, but it is now on the schedule for NAEP testing in 2005. This testing will be done only at the twelfth grade.

The Status of Economics in Social Studies

Comparisons of economics with course-taking in other social studies subjects indicate that economics holds a middle position in the social studies curriculum, but the demographics of the students who take an economics course show that economics has the characteristics of an elective rather than a required course.

Course Comparisons

Table 2 reports enrollment percentages for economics and other social studies courses. In 1994, 95 percent of high school graduates took one year of American history. Almost 60 percent completed a one-year course in world history. This percentage would have been greater if courses in world cultures or area studies had been included in the totals. History clearly dominates the social studies curriculum.

The remainder of the curriculum is composed of a collection of half-year courses in the social sciences. First in order of importance is a course in American government and politics, which was taken by 78 percent of high school graduates in 1994. Economics is next at 44 percent, followed by the 32 percent who took either a psychology course (about two-thirds) or a sociology course (about one-third). A separate course in geography is taken by about 24 percent of high school graduates, although the subject is frequently taught in other courses.

The bottom third of Table 2 reports the percentage of high school graduates taking AP or college-level courses overall and by selected subjects. About one in nine high school graduates took a one-year course in Advanced Placement (AP) American history, but only one in 100 high school graduates took an AP or college-level economics course that year.

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Table 2: Percentage of Graduates Earning Minimum Credits (Carnegie Units 0.5 or 1.00) in Selected Social Science and History Courses, by Course Type, Selected Years, 1982-1994

	1982	1987	1990	1994
Social Sciences				
Economics (0.50)	27.4	33.7	47.4	43.8
American government & politics (0.50)	62.2	72.0	77.4	78.0
International politics (0.50)[1]	6.6	7.3	8.3	7.9
Sociology/psychology (0.50)	32.4	33.6	32.6	31.8
Geography (0.50)	16.0	15.2	21.4	24.4
History				
American history (1.00)	81.5	89.5	91.2	94.8
World history (1.00)	36.3	42.6	51.9	59.4
Western history/civilization (0.50)[2]	11.4	9.8	10.3	12.1
Non-Western history (0.50)[2]	11.4	9.8	10.3	12.1
AP/Honors Social Studies				
AP/college economics	0.4	0.5	0.2	1.0
AP American history	3.2	6.0	8.0	10.6
AP Western civilization/European history	1.8	2.5	2.6	2.5
Any AP/honors social studies	5.8	9.3	10.7	13.1

Notes: [1]Part of American government and politics; [2]Some overlap with world history, but also includes cultural or area studies.

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics (1998), Table 47, and Walstad and Rebeck (2000), Table 4, p. 101.

Comparing the course data over time shows that the percentage of high school graduates taking a half-year economics course increased by 16 percentage points from 1982 to 1994, a gain surpassed only by world history, which increased by 23 percentage points. Both American government and politics and American history, however, had a gain similar to economics. Enrollments rose by 8 percentage points in geography, while enrollments in sociology/psychology changed minimally.

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Demographics

Table 3 offers demographic data about students taking American history, world history, government and politics, and economics. In economics, the gender differences are slight, but the race and ethnic differences are substantial. In 1994, a much higher percentage of high school graduates who were black, Hispanic, or Asian/Pacific Islanders took economics than did white graduates. The most likely reason for the difference is that the states that have mandated economics courses (such as New York and California) have higher percentages of these racial or ethnic groups than states with no such mandate. The smaller percentage of Native Americans who took economics relative to whites is probably a result of many Native Americans living in states without economics mandates or attending rural schools where there is less opportunity to take economics.

Data on school type also provides insights about course enrollments in economics. A significantly greater percentage of graduates from public high schools take economics than do graduates from private schools. This difference is also found in government and politics courses. By contrast, a smaller percentage of graduates from public high schools take world history than do students in private schools. These data suggest that private schools focus more on teaching of history and less on other social studies subjects than public schools.

High school students enroll in different types of school programs.[5] About 46 percent of high school graduates in academic programs have taken economics, but only about 30 percent of students in vocational programs have done so, reflecting the traditional view of economics as a college-preparatory course. The same enrollment pattern can be seen for world history, indicating that it, too, is viewed as an elective course. Courses in American history and government and politics, however, are more likely to be taken by students in both academic and vocational programs because they are required courses.

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[5]An academic program is defined as one in which the student earns at least 12 credits in academic courses such as English, social studies, mathematics, and/or science *and* has fewer than 3 credits in a labor market preparation field. A *vocational* program is one in which a student earns at least 3 credits in a single labor market preparation field, but fewer than 12 credits in the academic courses. If a student earns both 12 credits in a core subject and at least 3 credits in a labor market preparation field, then the student's program is classified as *both*. If neither of the two conditions applies, then the student's program is classifed as *neither*.

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Table 3: Percentage of High School Graduates Earning Minimum Credits (Carnegie Units 0.5 or 1.00) in Economics and Selected Social Studies Subjects by Student, School, and Location Factors, 1994

Type	Economics (0.50)	American History (1.00)	World History (1.00)	American Gov./Politics (0.50)
Overall	**43.8**	**94.8**	**59.4**	**78.0**
Gender				
Female	44.6	95.1	59.7	78.5
Male	43.0	94.5	59.1	77.5
Race/Ethnicity				
White	40.1	95.9	59.4	77.9
Black	48.0	92.2	55.1	81.4
Hispanic	70.4	95.7	71.2	86.0
Asian Pacific	49.7	88.8	69.3	79.4
Native American	28.0	97.2	57.6	80.9
School Type				
Public	44.3	94.6	58.3	80.3
Private	38.5	97.6	72.1	51.1
Student Program				
Academic	45.7	95.2	62.7	78.5
Vocational	29.6	91.7	33.7	74.4
Both	45.0	95.9	60.5	80.5
Neither	32.7	89.9	44.8	67.6
Community Type				
Big city	44.6	95.8	61.5	68.7
Urban fringe	49.1	93.8	51.9	72.8
Medium city	46.2	93.6	57.8	82.3
Small place	39.4	95.5	63.7	83.6
Region				
Northeast	33.9	89.6	35.1	57.2
South	48.6	96.5	70.9	80.7
Midwest	30.4	96.0	49.3	75.7
West	63.2	93.9	71.5	94.2

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics (1998), Tables 47-53.

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Table 3 also reveals variations in enrollment by community size.[6] From 45 to 49 percent of high school graduates of big city, urban fringe, and medium city schools take an economics course, but in small places, just under 40 percent of students take such a course. The most likely reason for this is that smaller school districts in predominately rural areas have difficulty finding the staff to offer such a course, as well as difficulty attracting sufficient enrollment. Staff qualified to teach the courses that are required—U.S. history and civics/government—are likely the hiring priority.

The 1994 results show that the largest percentages taking an economics course are found in the South (49 percent) and the West (63 percent), while the smallest percentages are in the Northeast (34 percent) and Midwest (30 percent). A similar pattern is found with courses in world history and government and politics. For economics, state mandates are the probable cause of this difference. In 1994, nine of the 17 states in the South had some sort of mandate. Four of the 13 states in the West had a mandate, including the largest, California. Only two of the nine states in the Northeast had a mandate that year. None of the 12 states in the Midwest had a mandate.

Content in Economics Courses

High school teachers of economics must answer two major questions: (1) What economics should be taught? (2) How should economics be taught? To assist teachers in answering these questions, some economists and economic educators have prepared content guides to identify key economic concepts and standards. They have also prepared instructional materials that illustrate how economics can be taught to students. Such content guides have certainly benefited teachers, school districts, and state departments of education, but they are not without controversy.

[6] A *big city* refers to a city equal to or greater than 200,000 in population. The *urban fringe* would be outside the limits of a big city, but within the urban area. A *medium city* has a population that is greater than or equal to 25,000, but less than 200,000. A *small place* is a community with a population of less than 25,000 located in open country and away from an urban area.

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Framework

In 1961 the National Task Force on Economic Education (Bach et al. 1961) issued an influential report whose primary purpose was to describe the basic economic ideas that should be learned by high school students. The report also emphasized the need for an analytical instead of a descriptive approach to the teaching of economics. In this new perspective, students would define an economic problem, identify and weigh goals and objectives, specify the alternative solutions, and analyze the consequences of choosing an alternative. Ideally, teachers would also teach some 45 economic concepts to give high school graduates a solid background in economics.

The National Task Force guide served as the major content statement for what should be taught in the schools until its replacement by the *Framework for Teaching Economics: Basic Concepts* (Hansen et al. 1977). The *Framework* was a major improvement because it reorganized and reduced the list of economic content. The *Framework* did, however, continue to stress the use of an analytical and rational approach to the teaching of economics. This approach for developing the economic understanding of high school graduates has five elements: (1) mastery of the basic concepts and tools of analysis in economics in place of a heavy dose of factual knowledge; (2) appreciation for how the major concepts of economics relate to each other; (3) comprehension of the structure of the economy and the interaction of its various sectors; (4) knowledge about major economic issues, both public and personal, and how individual actions shape and are shaped by economic forces; and (5) the use of an objective and reasoned approach to making economic decisions.

The *Framework* was revised in 1984 and again in 1995 to incorporate further content changes, but the key elements of economic understanding were retained (Saunders and Gilliard 1995).[7] This latest edition shortened the list of basic economic concepts, reorganized and improved the explanation of the basic concepts, and added discussion of important measurement concepts and methods related to economics. Table 4 lists the *Framework*'s 22 basic economic concepts categorized into funda-

[7]Also included in the 1995 version are scope-and sequence guidelines for educators. This addition describes the economic concepts in short content statements to make them easier for teachers and students to understand. These guidelines recommend the grade levels at which the economic concepts should be taught and describe how economics intruction should progress from lower to higher grades.

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Table 4: Basic Concepts in the Framework

Fundamental Economic Concepts

1. Scarcity
2. Opportunity Costs and Tradeoffs
3. Productivity
4. Economic Systems
5. Economic Institutions and Incentives
6. Exchange, Money, and Interdependence

Microeconomic Concepts

7. Markets and Prices
8. Supply and Demand
9. Competition and Market Structure
10. Income Distribution
11. Market Failures
12. The Role of Government

Macroeconomic Concepts

13. Gross National Product
14. Aggregate Supply and Aggregate Demand
15. Unemployment
16. Inflation and Deflation
17. Monetary Policy
18. Fiscal Policy

International Economic Concepts

19. Absolute and Comparative Advantage and Barriers to Trade
20. Exchange Rates and the Balance of Payments
21. International Aspects of Growth and Stability

Measurement Concepts and Methods

Tables
Charts and Graphs
Ratios and Percentages
Percentage Changes
Index Numbers
Real vs. Nominal Values
Averages and Distributions Around the Average

Broad Social Goals

1. Economic Freedom
2. Economic Efficiency
3. Economic Equity
4. Economic Security
5. Full Employment
6. Price Stability
7. Economic Growth
8. Other Goals

Source: Saunders and Gilliard (1995, 10).

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mental, microeconomic, macroeconomic, and international economic clusters. Also included in the table are measurement concepts and methods and broad social goals applicable to economic decision-making.

As was the case with the National Task Force report, the *Framework* has been criticized for content omissions, ideological concerns, lack of emphasis on particular issues, and its complexity (Walstad 1992). In essence, the *Framework* represents mainstream economics, albeit in a limited and condensed form. To the extent that there are perceived omissions and limitations in mainstream economics, they are reflected in the *Framework*. Changes in future editions of the *Framework*, or for that matter in the content found in most high school courses in economics, will occur only after shifts in mainstream thinking about economics.

The *Framework* significantly influenced economics instruction and the school curriculum in the 1980s and 1990s. The effects can be found in curriculum guides, teaching materials, and tests produced by state departments of education, school districts, and other educational organizations (Symmes 1991). The economic concepts listed in the Framework are covered in the major textbooks for high school economics (e.g., Clayton 2001). The Framework is also cited in methods textbooks for prospective teachers of social studies (Zevin 2000). The widespread acceptance of the Framework shows that it represents a consensus statement among economists and economic educators as to what economics should be taught and how economics should be taught. Attention has now turned to economic standards.

Standards

The movement to national standards in history and the social studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s also stimulated thinking about standards for economics. This work began in earnest after the inclusion of economics in the Goals 2000 Educate America Act in 1994. The National Council on Economic Education organized several national committees, composed of some 26 economists, economic educators, and teachers, which prepared or reviewed the Voluntary National Content Standards in Economics (NCEE 1997).

According to the chair of the writing committee and the project director (Siegfried and Meszaros 1998), the primary purpose of this project was to write a concise set of content statements about what economics should be taught in grades 1-12. Each standard states a basic principle or fundamental proposition of economics. This statement is followed by a short rationale written in non-technical terms. Following

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these two elements are benchmarks that describe in detail what a student should be able to do with that understanding at grades 4, 8, and 12. A listing of the 20 standards is found in Table 5.

Table 5: Voluntary National Economics Content Standards

1. Productive resources are limited. Therefore, people can not have all the goods and services they want; as a result, they must choose some things and give up others.

2. Effective decision making requires comparing the additional costs of alternatives with the additional benefits. Most choices involve doing a little more or a little less of something: few choices are "all or nothing" decisions.

3. Different methods can be used to allocate goods and services. People acting individually or collectively through government must choose which methods to use to allocate different kinds of goods and services.

4. People respond predictably to positive and negative incentives.

5. Voluntary exchange occurs only when all participating parties expect to gain. This is true for trade among individuals or organizations within a nation, and usually among individuals or organizations in different nations.

6. When individuals, regions, and nations specialize in what they can produce at the lowest cost and then trade with others, both production and consumption increase.

7. Markets exist when buyers and sellers interact. This interaction determines market prices and thereby allocates scarce goods and services.

8. Prices send signals and provide incentives to buyers and sellers. When supply or demand changes, market prices adjust, affecting incentives.

9. Competition among sellers lowers costs and prices, and encourages producers to produce more of what consumers are willing and able to buy. Competition among buyers increases prices and allocates goods and services to those people who are willing and able to pay the most for them.

10. Institutions evolve in market economies to help individuals and groups accomplish their goals. Banks, labor unions, corporations, legal systems, and not-for-profit organizations are examples of important institutions. A different kind of institution, clearly defined and enforced property rights, is essential to a market economy.

11. Money makes it easier to trade, borrow, save, invest, and compare the value of goods and services.

12. Interest rates, adjusted for inflation, rise and fall to balance the amount saved with the amount borrowed, which affects the allocation of scarce resources between present and future uses.

13. Income for most people is determined by the market value of the productive resources they sell. What workers earn depends, primarily, on the market value of what they produce and how productive they are.

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14. Entrepreneurs are people who take the risks of organizing productive resources to make goods and services. Profit is an important incentive that leads entrepreneurs to accept the risks of business failure.

15. Investment in factories, machinery, new technology, and in the health, education, and training of people can raise future standards of living.

16. There is an economic role for government in a market economy whenever the benefits of a government policy outweigh its costs. Governments often provide for national defense, address environmental concerns, define and protect property rights, and attempt to make markets more competitive. Most government policies also redistribute income.

17. Costs of government policies sometimes exceed benefits. This may occur because of incentives facing voters, government officials, and government employees, because of actions by special interest groups that can impose costs on the general public, or because social goals other than economic efficiency are being pursued.

18. A nation's overall levels of income, employment, and prices are determined by the interaction of spending and production decisions made by all households, firms, government agencies, and others in the economy.

19. Unemployment imposes costs on individuals and nations. Unexpected inflation imposes costs on many people and benefits some others because it arbitrarily redistributes purchasing power. Inflation can reduce the rate of growth of national living standards because individuals and organizations use resources to protect themselves against the uncertainty of future prices.

20. Federal government budgetary policy and the Federal Reserve System's monetary policy influence the overall levels of employment, output, and prices.

Source: NCEE (1997).

In many respects, the *Standards* follow in the tradition of the *Framework* and the National Task Force report in providing a content guide for teaching economics in the school curriculum, albeit with a different format and emphasis. As with the past guides, the *Standards* have been subject to criticism. Hansen (1998), for example, questions whether there will be widespread acceptance of the *Standards* because they are "principles-based" and not "concept-based" (as is the *Framework*), which makes them more abstract. He also sees as serious omissions the failure to include a skill dimension that explains the analytical approach to economics and a knowledge dimension that describes different aspects of the economy and how it operates. These omissions, combined with labeling principles as standards, indicate that this document

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is misaligned with the approach to standards in history and social studies that teachers are already using.

The history of the content guidelines in economics suggests that they will be controversial and undergo revision. Reaching a consensus among the economists serving on a committee producing national standards is a first step in the ongoing debate over economic content. Such standards will be subject to content scrutiny from other economists, the news media, and special interest groups.[8] Once standards are published and circulated, educators must decide if they are useful in improving economic education of students and whether to adopt the guidelines for curriculum development and testing. It will take another decade to know whether the economics standards are widely adopted and used in the schools.

The other issue with standards is a general problem of the amount of content in all the standards publications for history and social studies subjects. In economics, for example, there are only 20 standards, but some 211 underlying benchmarks that often require extensive instruction if students are to learn the material. The standards publications in history and social studies subjects also contain a great deal of underlying content to teach. Indeed, if there was a requirement for teaching all of the content in the standards for history and the social studies, high school students might never be able to graduate.

Research on Coursework and Achievement

Research on what students know about economics and on the effectiveness of economics instruction in different courses evolved with the development of economics tests. The findings suggest that the final level of economics achievement is low and that not all courses are equally effective.

Tests

The creation of standardized tests of economics achievement significantly advanced research in economic education over the four decades that such tests have been administered to students. The most widely

[8]Ferber (1999) criticizes the *Standards* for their neglect of facts, emphasis on consensus, and lack of attention to complexity. Pennar (1997) thinks the *Standards* are "economics made too easy," a charge that most economic teachers would dismiss after reviewing all of the content in the *Standards*.

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used measure has been the *Test of Economic Literacy* (TEL) (Soper and Walstad 1987), which is now in its third edition (Walstad and Rebeck 2001a).[9] In his review of the social studies, Jenness (1990) found the TEL to be unique when compared with tests in other social studies subjects:

> In several fields—history, government/political science, and now economics—scholars have worked through the College Entrance Examination Board to write advanced placement tests, but these do not describe the content of typical achievement in the subject; they are oriented toward college placement, not high school mastery. Thus only Economics can say, Here is what the student should know *through coursework*—and here is a test to measure that (211).

This outcome results from the specification of economic content as originally outlined in the Framework.

Psychometric evidence indicates that the TEL is a valid and reliable measure for assessing the economic understanding of U.S. high school students. The content validity of the third edition is based on the *Framework*, and now also the *Standards*. About two-thirds of the questions, carefully evaluated for the second edition, were retained, and another third were new. All questions were field tested with students and they were reviewed by three national committees: one with five high school economics teachers, another with economists and educators who were directors of university centers for economic education, and a third with five distinguished economists. The construct validity is based on the national norming data from 7,243 students that shows expected differences in scores for those students with and without economics, regardless of such factors as gender, grade level, verbal ability, school type, or income. The estimate for alpha reliability is .89, which is a high value for a short test of 40 multiple-choice questions.

The continuing problem for researchers and test users is that the TEL is one test for measuring economics achievement in high school. There have been repeated calls for the development of alternative tests in economics, but few valid and reliable instruments other than multiple-choice tests have been prepared and used for research (Becker, Greene, and Rosen 1990). An exception is the Golden State Examination in Economics in California. Harris and Kerby (1997) report signifi-

[9]The TEL has also seen extensive use in international research with high school students. For comparison of TEL data from the U.K., Germany, Austria, Korea, and Australia, see Walstad (1994, 12).

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cant differences in student outcomes based on multiple-choice and essay portions of this exam. The need for alternative tests of economic understanding remains a measurement challenge.

Final Achievement

Expectations for what can be achieved in an economics course need to be placed in a more realistic perspective. The findings from a 1999 classroom testing of a nationally representative sample of high school students found that students with economic instruction scored significantly higher than those without instruction, but students with instruction could answer just over half the test questions (Louis Harris and Associates 1999). Similar findings were obtained with the third edition of the TEL administered in the 1999-2000 school year (Walstad and Rebeck 2001b). It showed that high school students who had taken a regular economics course could answer about 61 percent of the test items, but that high school students who had not taken such as course could only answer 41 percent of the questions, even after controlling for student characteristics and other factors. These results are consistent with TEL studies from the 1980s (e.g., Walstad and Soper 1988).

The achievement level in economics can be attributed to many factors, some associated with teacher and course characteristics, others related to social and educational problems affecting high schools and students, and still others connected to measurement issues. The most important reason is the small amount of instructional time for economics. Major subjects, such as history, are taught to all students over many years in concentrated units and courses that begin in the early grades. By contrast, intensive development of economic understanding depends largely on a one-semester course typically taught in the last two years of high school and taken by a minority of students.

Infusion

Several national studies have used the TEL to investigate the contribution of an economics course to the economic understanding of high school students (e.g., Lynch 1993-94). In these studies, students were enrolled either in an economics course, a consumer economics course, or a social studies course, such as U.S. history. The results showed that students who took an economics course significantly improved their economic understanding, but there was little or no contribution from the other courses.

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In general, the research studies on outcomes from economics instruction in several types of courses confirm the value of a formal course in economics as a means for improving economic understanding. Other content may be taught in consumer economics courses, but little economic knowledge seems to be gained by students. Some courses in the social studies, such as U.S. history, may add to economic understanding, but the contribution is limited and depends on whether a teacher makes a conscious effort to include economics. By themselves, courses in the social studies curriculum may prepare students for economics learning, but they are not a substitute for direct and formal instruction.

Given these findings, a more realistic view of the infusion approach is needed. Infusion is appealing because it is a relatively inexpensive way of teaching economics, but its effectiveness is reduced by at least four obstacles: (1) inadequate economics preparation of teachers for whom the teaching of economics is not a major responsibility; (2) poor coverage of economics in non-economics courses and lack of supplementary materials for those subjects; (3) state or school district curriculum guides that provide inadequate discussion of how to include economics in different courses or grades; and (4) the limited amount of classroom time for teaching economics in the context of another subject. The obstacles, either separately or in combination, often prevent the teaching of economics in other courses from making a contribution to students' economic understanding (Walstad and Watts 1985).

Lasting Effects

Another way to assess the effects of a high school economics course is to measure its contribution to achievement in college courses for the sub-sample of high school students who attend college. Studies during the 1990s generally show that high school economics makes a positive contribution to learning in college economics. Brasfield, Harrison, and McCoy (1993) and Durden and Ellis (1995) found that college students taking microeconomic and macroeconomic principles who had taken an economics course in high school had significantly higher course grades. Lopus (1997) found that the quality of high school economics, as measured by coverage of macroeconomic or microeconomic concepts, had a positive effect on pretest scores in principles of economics in college. There was also a lasting effect on posttest scores in college microeconomics for students who took a high school course covering microeconomics.

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There is less known about the effects of high school economics on the economic literacy of adults. The few studies conducted indicate that economic coursework in high school and college does improve what adults know about economics after the coursework was completed (Walstad 1997). The problem with this type of analysis is the difficulty of separating college from high school effects. For those students who took an economics course in high school and also took a course in college, what is learned in high school is also covered in college. What may be more important is to study the lasting effects of high school economics on the large percentage of high school graduates who do not attend college and also on those high school graduates who attend college but do not take an economics course.

Teacher Education

Teachers generally are prepared to teach economics in two ways. During their undergraduate or pre-service education, students may take coursework in economics and receive training in how to teach the subject. Those teachers who are already licensed and currently teaching can take inservice courses and workshops that cover economic content and pedagogical issues. The research shows that teacher education in economics is essential for improving student learning in the subject, but often teachers have minimal coursework in economics and are not adequately prepared to teach it.

Teacher Coursework

Over the years, several reports have called for improving teacher education in economics. The most recent and comprehensive appeal came from a 1985 national committee of distinguished economists and educators organized by the Joint (now National) Council on Economic Education (see Hermanowicz 1991). It recommended that all future teachers be required to take *one* basic course in economics or, preferably, the principles sequence in economics. All prospective teachers of social studies should be required to take at least *three* semester courses in economics, including the principles sequence and an advanced course. Teachers who specialize in teaching economics should complete the equivalent of a field concentration of at least six semester courses in economics. Teachers of AP or honors courses should complete at least ten courses, or the equivalent of a major in economics.

State standards for the initial licensure or certification of secondary social studies teachers—those most likely to teach economics in the

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schools—fall far short of these recommendations. Of the 51 certification agencies, only 26 had a semester credit-hour requirement in economics in 1995 (Dumas, Evans, and Weible 1997). The average requirement in these states was 3.9 credits in economics, the equivalent of 1.3 courses of three credits. These required credits—representing just 9.4 percent of the mean 41.6 credit hours in history and the social sciences required for social studies certification in many states—suggest that economics is not considered to be of great importance.

Studies of economics courses taken by employed teachers also show limited economics coursework, but many teachers have taken more courses than would be expected based on state certification requirements. Table 6 reports data on the undergraduate and graduate coursework in economics for social studies teachers in grades 9-12.[10] The mean number of courses is 2.8, an improvement over the 1.3 course average for prospective social studies teachers. One reason for this difference is inservice programs, which have become crucial for correcting deficiencies in teacher knowledge and stimulating interest in teaching economics. The inservice activity includes credit courses and non-credit workshops offered by colleges, universities, and nonprofit organizations. The data in Table 6 suggest there is an especially great need for these inservice courses because more than half of social studies teachers have taken two or fewer courses in economics, and nothing is known about how long ago the coursework was completed.

Research on Teacher Education

One research question that has been investigated in many studies is whether the number of courses taken by a teacher contributes to student understanding of economics. Bosshardt and Watts (1990) found that teacher credit-hours in economics was a significant variable in explaining differences in teacher effectiveness. In that study, teachers found to be above average in improving student test scores had earned more economics credits (17, or about six courses) than teachers who were average (11, or three to four courses) or teachers who were below average (8, or two to three courses) in improving student test scores. Allgood and Walstad (1999) reported the greatest increase in economic knowledge for high school teachers of economics occurred in the third year of

[10]The data were collected by The Gallup Organization from a national random sample of social studies and other teachers for another study (Walstad and Kourilsky 1999). Only data from senior high social studies teachers (n=288) are reported here.

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Table 6: Percent of Undergraduate and Graduate Economics Courses Taken by High Social Studies Teachers (n=288)

Number	%
0	12
1	18
2	23
3	16
4	12
5	6
6	4
7+	9
Mean	2.97
Median	2.00

Source: Walstad and Kourilsky (1999).

coursework in a master's degree program in economics for teachers. The increased economic knowledge from these courses was also associated with improved learning of economics among the students of these teachers. Such studies provide evidence of the value of teacher education in economics and have been used to justify this type of investment in human capital.

Compared with research on coursework, regression studies on the influence of other teacher variables on students' economics achievement generally show insignificant or inconsistent results. Noncredit workshops encourage teachers to teach more economics to students, but they can vary in quality and content, which may explain why studies have found no significant positive effect on student learning (Walstad and Van Scyoc 1990). The number of years since a teacher's last economics course seems to have no significant influence on students' TEL scores (Beron 1990). The number of years of full-time teaching experience produced contradictory results in the direction and significance of regression coefficients (Bosshardt and Watts 1990; Grimes and Register 1990). The percentage of a teacher's load that is economics had an insignificant effect on student learning (Bosshardt and Watts 1990). Teacher attitudes about economics and their teaching conditions may affect student achievement in economics (Marlin 1991). These topics all deserve additional study to confirm or reject the findings using current data on teachers and students in economics courses and in other subjects in which economics is taught.

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If coursework in economics is the only reliable or at least the best-documented way for teachers to improve student learning of economics, finding new ways to increase the number of teachers who take economics may be worthwhile. This objective can be achieved by increasing economics requirements in undergraduate education for social studies and other teachers who teach economics, and by increasing the number of current teachers who take inservice courses and programs in economics.

Textbooks and Materials

Increased economics enrollments in the past two decades gave publishers, foundations, and other organizations incentives to produce a variety of instructional materials. The preparation of these materials has been the focus of substantial work and some research in economic education, revealing that the coverage of economic content varies in quality.

Economics Textbooks

A special textbook committee of the American Economic Association conducted an analysis of 24 textbooks for high school courses in economics and other subjects from 1959 to 1960 (AEA 1963). The report found such major deficiencies in social studies textbooks as omission of subject matter, imbalance in content presentation, limited analysis of economic issues, and many factual errors. Since then, the quality of textbooks available for teaching a separate economics courses has improved substantially, at least as measured against the Framework. One such study examined 11 high school economics textbooks with 1983-1987 copyrights and gave positive ratings to these textbooks based on an analysis of the content coverage, content accuracy, and balance in perspective (Miller 1988a).

What the ratings studies indicate is that, from the perspective of coverage of basic economic concepts and content accuracy, there are many "good" high school textbooks in economics. Deficiencies found in past textbooks have been, to a large extent, eliminated. These textbooks also received good ratings on other criteria—physical characteristics, organization, features, instructional activities, and supplementary materials. The reading or ability level of textbooks also varies, thus permitting the teacher to select a textbook that matches the needs of students taking a particular economics course. An inspection of current textbooks shows that many good textbooks are available (e.g., Clayton 2001). Textbook publishers also provide a comprehensive pack-

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age of supplements to support textbook users (test banks, transparencies, lessons, websites, and computer software).[11]

Despite these positive developments, two basic criticisms of economics textbooks remain. First, dissatisfaction with a mainstream approach to economics can lead to charges that the textbooks or economics courses are biased and ideological (Miller 1988a). Helburn (1997), for example, reflects on the history of ECON12 and argues against methods and books that focus on the structure of the economics discipline because that practice "limits the economics to the ruling paradigm of neoclassical economics and usually to the 'free market' approach to teaching about market systems" (p. 275). Second, general problems with high school textbooks are also associated with economics textbooks. Such problems include superficial discussion of too many topics and inadequate coverage of issues or groups that are of particular interest (e.g., Hahn and Blankenship 1983).

Some research has been conducted on the effectiveness of economics textbooks, although the topic deserves further study because of the strong influence of textbooks on social studies instruction. One study found a significantly positive correlation between the ranking of textbooks on coverage of the Framework concepts and scores on the TEL by economic concept (Miller 1988b). Another used regression analysis to study the effects of 15 economics textbooks on students' TEL scores after controlling for various student and teacher characteristics (Walstad and Van Scyoc 1990). This study reported generally negative effects on economics understanding for those high school students in courses that used business-oriented books, free enterprise texts, and books written for college undergraduates.

Social Studies Textbooks

The treatment of economics in other textbooks continues to be suspect. Over the years, studies of high school textbooks in history, government, geography, and sociology have reported many problems: (1) lack of economic analysis; (2) ad hoc explanations for many economic events and issues; (3) absence of substantive economic content on many topics related to economics; (4) factual errors and the misapplication of economic ideas; and (5) organization of content in a confusing and nonsystematic way (Miller 1988a). One such study examined 16 U.S. his-

[11] See *www.glencoe.com* for current examples of economics textbooks and supplements.

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tory textbooks for coverage of the Great Depression and found inadequate explanations of this major economic event (Miller and Rose 1983).

There are no new textbook studies to suggest that the situation has changed in the past decade, but a review of content standards for history, social studies, civics, and geography is not encouraging (Buckles and Watts 1998). It concluded that there were conceptual weaknesses in the treatment of economics in these documents. Among the major problems were overemphasis on government planning, a limited view of how markets function, and a generally negative perspective on economic growth.

These textbook and standards problems place greater demands on a teacher who wants to teach economics through infusion in another course. The teacher must be quite knowledgeable and highly skilled in order to correct misconceptions presented in the textbooks or other materials. This problem may partially explain why teaching economics in the context of other courses is so difficult and why research studies at the high school level find infusion to be a relatively ineffective approach for economic education.

Other Materials

Teachers often use supplementary print materials in the form of lessons, instructional units, and informative pamphlets to teach economics. Published research on the effectiveness of these materials produced by various organizations is virtually nonexistent. Conducting such a study is problematic because of the difficulty of separating the effects of the materials on students from those of the teacher and other influences. By contrast, television programs in economics have been evaluated because of the size of the programs, the wider usage by teachers, and the opportunity to measure program effects. Studies have shown positive effects on achievement in economics, and other outcomes, from student viewing of such programs (Chizmar et al. 1985).

The teaching of economics and the social studies is also being transformed by newer technology, such as the Internet and the microcomputer. The effectiveness of these technological tools is only beginning to receive serious study. This newer technology may prove difficult to assess because the scale of the instructional intervention is typically smaller than with a television series, which makes it harder to isolate and measure the outcomes from these innovations.

More instructional materials are available now in a variety of formats than in years past, but more high quality materials need to be pro-

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duced to meet the continuing demand from teachers and competition from other subjects. Economics teachers perceive three major barriers to teaching economics—the lack of supplementary materials, limited student interest in the subject, and inadequate time for classroom preparation (Soper and Walstad 1988). These barriers can be lowered simultaneously when good teaching resources are available because they directly aid in increasing student interest and reducing preparation time for teachers. Teachers with a limited background in the subject especially require materials that are relatively self-contained and easy to use with students.

Economists and Organizations

Effective education in economics requires the involvement of economists. Over the years, participation of professional economists in economic education projects at the precollege level has grown. One path for this participation has been through service on the Committee on Economic Education of the American Economic Association (AEA). The major avenue, however, has been through work on projects through the National Council on Economic Education. The National Council was established in 1949 as a nonprofit and nonpartisan educational organization to promote economic education in the nation's schools. To achieve its goal, the National Council created a decentralized network to involve many college and university economists and educators in work with the schools. In 2000, 47 state councils and 260 college and university centers were part of this network. The state councils operate similarly to the National Council, as nonprofit and nonpartisan organizations that raise funds and manage programs in a state. The funding supports educational activities conducted by the centers, especially credit courses in economics for teachers, and the development of instructional materials. The directors of the centers and councils are typically professional economists or educators who serve on the faculty at the associated college or university.

The National Council involves economists and economic educators in preparing curriculum guides and educational materials that show how economics can be taught in all grades. Of special note are the Framework and Standards content guides already discussed. Accompanying these guides are lessons and teaching units that show how economics can be taught in a separate economics course or in the context of other courses in high school and at lower grades. The National Council and its

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affiliates have also been active in using new technology for teaching economics.[12]

Interest in economic education is shown by other national and state organizations, but none has developed a comprehensive program for the schools, given as much emphasis to teacher education in economics, or received support from as many economists in academia and other fields as the National Council. In most cases, organizations produce materials to supplement instruction on a particular topic but make no specific demands for the use of those materials in the classroom. An example of an organization that follows this practice is the Federal Reserve System. In a few other cases, organizations develop textbooks and instructional materials and lobby educators for their use in the schools, the most notable example being Junior Achievement's programs for teaching business economics at various grades.[13]

Future Directions

Improvements in economics instruction in high school over the past two decades have been significant. More students are taking an economics course or learning economics in other subjects. There is more state and local testing of economic knowledge. Content guides have been prepared that identify key economic concepts and principles that should be learned by high school graduates. Teachers are better prepared to teach economics from participating in credit courses. A wide array of instructional materials is available for teaching economics. A national network of professional economists and economic educators supports teacher education and curriculum development in economics.

For the future, the most critical need is to increase the number of students who take economics. Less than half of high school graduates take a well-defined high school course in economics. Enrollments are not likely to increase because of new state mandates or other changes to the curriculum, and they may decrease if there is pressure to allocate more classroom time to other subjects and topics.

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[12]See examples at an NCEE website (*http://www.economicsamerica.org*) or at a website sponsored by the University of Nebraska-Omaha (http://ecedweb.unomaha.edu).

[13]Highsmith (1993-94) offers a detailed comparison of the National Council on Economic Education and Junior Achievement in philosophy, programs, delivery systems, evaluations, and activities.

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If enrollments in a separate economics course decline, then more reliance is placed on the infusion or integration approach. Research findings raise doubts about the effectiveness of the infusion strategy. It appears to work well only when conditions are optimal: good instructional materials are available, teachers are well-trained in economics, and classroom time is devoted to economics.

Another problem is teacher education in economics. The number of economics courses taken by teachers has a significantly positive effect on student achievement in economics. Teachers who know more economics are better able to infuse economics in instruction in other subjects. Prospective teachers of the social studies, however, take little economics in their undergraduate training. This situation is unlikely to change as long as economics is viewed as a minor subject in the social studies curriculum. If more high schools require students to take economics, then more teachers will have an incentive to prepare for that teaching responsibility by taking more college courses in economics. Although inservice education in economics has been used to overcome past deficiencies in economics coursework, it does not reach all teachers and may be insufficient to correct many problems.

More research is needed on economic education in the schools, as has been suggested throughout this assessment. More needs to be known about the effects of economics instruction in different settings—as an elective course, in short instructional units, through infusion, or as part of state mandates. The important role of the teacher should be investigated to identify other characteristics beyond courses that aid student learning. New instructional materials, textbooks, and technology should be evaluated for the quality of the economic content and contribution to economic understanding. All of this research at the high school level would benefit from an updating of traditional tests and the development of alternative measures of student outcomes.

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Beyond Content: Deep-Structure Objectives for Sociology and Social Science Curricula

By Keith A. Roberts

What are the appropriate goals of a sociology curriculum? What thinking skills and competencies are critical for doing social science and for analyzing society? Since my field is sociology, I will write primarily from and to the issues we face in that discipline, but most of these issues are generic to the social and behavioral sciences. Ultimately, I will indicate deep-structure objectives for sociology curricula and suggest implications of these objectives for instruction and for course design.

Recent conversations within the American Sociological Association indicate that at least three approaches can be used to establish conceptual goals of the introductory sociology course and the sociology curriculum. These three different starting points, which are at the core of current discussions of how we should define the curriculum in our field, are (1) basic concepts, (2) overriding perspectives and issues, and (3) research on cognitive development.

The first approach is to focus on basic concepts—to identify the core ideas that should be part of the curriculum. Having conducted many workshops on teaching sociology for high school teachers over the course of the past decade, I am aware of secondary teachers' thirst for guidelines. I often hear requests for a list of concepts that must be covered in an entry-level sociology course. When I chaired the ASA Task Force to create national standards for sociology courses and for the Advanced Placement high school course that is in the works, we took this approach.

Despite my work with this approach, I have severe reservations about it. For one thing, this model creates a course without integrity. It becomes a course of terms and concepts rather than a coherent and focused exercise in inquiry. An effective course, in my view, should be

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like a well-written essay. It should have a central question that runs like a thread throughout the inquiry; by the conclusion, the student should be able to articulate a thesis—a sophisticated and well reasoned answer to the central question. The "core concepts" approach does not lend itself to this sort of integration. Rather, this approach tends to focus on sociology as the core of the course rather than societal analysis as the heart of the inquiry.

A second and more promising approach is to begin with overriding perspectives and issues in the field. One of the best articulations of this model has been done by the widely respected sociologist, Earl Babbie (1990), who identified ten themes he believes are central contributions of sociology. While a mere listing of the themes without his explanation is unfair, I will nonetheless list them here (Table 1) and suggest that a careful reading of his article would be worth the effort.

Table 1: The Essential Wisdom of Sociology

1. Society has a sui generis existence and reality.
2. It is possible to study society scientifically.
3. Autopoiesis: Society creates itself.
4. Cultures differ widely across time and space.
5. The individual and the society are inseparable.
6. Systems have system needs.
7. Institutions are inherently conservative.
8. Explanatory sociology is implicitly deterministic.
9. Paradigms shape what we see and how we understand.
10. Sociology is an idea whose time has come.

Source: Babbie 1990.

A third approach (and one that I have championed) begins with the findings from research on cognitive development or "developmental epistemology" research. Using these findings as a starting point has profound implications for teaching social sciences because one first must ask where students are intellectually and where we want them to be by the end of the curriculum. This approach entices educators to attend to the deep-structure objectives rather than just the surface issues of "content."

Developmentalist research in the Piagetian frame of reference raises some very interesting questions for educators. Among the interesting findings is the fact that most high school and many college students may still be in Piaget's "Concrete Operational Stage." McKinnon and

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Renner (1971) found that 50 percent of first-year students at a university in Oklahoma were concrete operational; another 24 percent were not *fully* formal operational. Thus, three out of four first-year college students were not functioning consistently at a formal operational level. William Perry (1970) found that almost all first-year students he studied at Harvard were in a stage he termed "basic duality," a stage that is clearly a form of concrete thinking. Mary Wilcox (1979) and Lawrence Kohlberg (Kohlberg 1968, 1971, 1983; Kohlberg and Gilligan 1971) found that between two-thirds and three-fourths of the American public is not *fully* formal operational. Concrete operational thinking involves an inability to deal with complexities and a tendency to rigid and legalistic thinking. Mary Wilcox summarizes formal operational thinking this way:

> Formal operations signify the ability to think abstractly, to form hypotheses, to theorize, to imagine many possibilities and combinations, to generate multiple solutions to problems, to comprehend subtle and symbolic meanings, and to perform operations in the mind by mentally manipulating objects without the objects being present (Wilcox 1979, 100).

These seem to be core thinking skills that are essential to doing sociology or to conducting any sort of sophisticated analysis of society. Finally, Patricia King and Karen Kitchener (1994), who have also done some very interesting research in this same genre, have set forth a model of development of "reflective judgment." They find that entering college students are dualistic, have an unsophisticated epistemology, and lack complexity in their reflection process.

Within the discipline of sociology, as in most of the rest of the academy, teaching critical thinking is widely discussed. Sociologists often justify the discipline's presence within the liberal arts curriculum on the basis that its study teaches students to think critically about the society and about social relationships and processes (Charon 1998b, Baker 1981, Baker and Jones 1979, 1981). The assumption, of course, is that sociological instruction enhances analytical ability and capacity to think for oneself. The ability to foster critical thinking is informed and enhanced by familiarity with the findings of research on intellectual development.

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Cognitive Development: Formal/Reflective Thinking in the Social Sciences

The core idea behind this paradigm is that intellectual capability evolves through a sequential series of steps. "The higher stages are progressively more complex, differentiated, and abstract, and the components of which they are composed become interrelated more systematically at each successive stage" (King and Kitchener 1994).

Jean Piaget (see, for example, Piaget 1967) began this line of work using eight measures to assess the thinking processes of children. Piaget was, of course, a biologist by training, so it should not be surprising that seven of the eight measures that he developed applied to thinking capacities relevant to mathematics and the natural sciences. These included such processes as conservation[1] (number, matter, area, weight, and volume), seriation,[2] and reversibility.[3] He recognized that a person might advance more quickly in one of these areas than in others. Hence,

[1]Conservation has to do with consistency of matter, or weight, or volume, even if the shape of something looks different. In the preoperational stage, a child will think that clay has different amounts of matter or weight when it is in different shapes. Likewise, two glasses of water are believed to have different amounts of liquid if they are shaped differently and one "looks bigger." A concrete operational child will understand that volume stays the same even if shape is different if the concrete evidence is presented before the child. If the child is given the height and circumference of two glasses and the formula for volume, she will not be able to solve the problem and will not find the evidence convincing. Only a formal oeprational person can deal with such abstractions.

[2]Seriation is placing things in series. A preoperational child can place only a limited number of sticks in series from longest to shortest before becoming confused. A concrete operational person can arrange any number of sticks in order by size, but may not be able to solve complex problems on the order of the following without drawing lines on a sheet of paper: Line A is seven inches longer than line B; line C is three inches shorter than line A; line D is twice as long as line B; line E, which is six inches long, is half as long as line A. Which line is longest? Which line is the shortest? A formal operational person, while he or she might have to deliberate for several minutes, can solve this problem in his or her head and be fully convinced of the accuracy of the answer.

[3]Reversibility is the ability to understand that arithmetic calculations can be reversed with numbers being reversed in multiplication yielding the same answer (5 times 6 is the same as 6 times 5) and with multiplication and division being reverse processes.

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a person could operate on several levels at once. The goal was to bring a person to the same (higher) level in all eight areas so that there could be cross-fertilization and synthesis of thought patterns. This elevation of persons to the same level in all areas is referred to as "stage broadening." Piaget termed the ability to apply a thinking pattern to a new field or a new situation "horizontal decalage."

Of the eight processes of thinking that Piaget measured and studied, only one has to do with social perspective: role-taking. A single thinking skill is hardly adequate for identifying advanced analytical ability in the social sciences, so an obvious question arises: What might formal operational thinking look like in sociology students?

It is noteworthy that Piaget identified role-taking as a core issue in thinking, for this is at the heart of the work of symbolic interactionists in the tradition of George Herbert Mead (1936) and Herbert Blumer (1969). Mead maintained that selfhood and reflection require the separation of the "me" from the "I." The "me" metaphorically steps outside of the body and makes the self into an object of reflection. Self-criticism, embarrassment, self-correction, and even the idea of a "self" evolve from this objectification. Objectification, achieved in part through language and through having a name, allows me to talk about myself in third person; it allows me to talk to myself about myself (Hewitt 2000).

Through objectification, I can reflect on my behavior. Language provides the symbol system that facilitates role-taking. Through language I can evaluate my past behavior and measure it against a standard. By role-taking and anticipating negative consequences, I can avoid certain behaviors. By contrast, a dog can only avoid consequences it has already experienced. Objectification and the consequent self-reflection and deliberation about behavior are impossible without *role-taking*. For symbolic interactionists in the tradition of George Herbert Mead, all reflection and all thinking is based on expansion in ability to role-take. Indeed, symbolic interactionists (Hewitt 2000, O'Brien and Kollock 1997) insist that role-taking is absolutely necessary to:

- Emergence of the self
- Self-reflection
- Controlling, directing, or manipulating others
- Ethical deliberation about one's own behavior
- Love
- All forms of human cooperation
- Learning from the past
- Planning for the future

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Many people are not skilled at role-taking; yet this is perhaps the *most critical skill* for thinking and for problem solving! I think it no exaggeration to say that it is the single most important skill to doing sociology and anthropology. How, after all, can one write with insight about another culture if one is unable to view the world from another point of view?

Symbolic interactionists, like developmentalists, argue that expansion in role-taking capability is developmental. Mead talked of a "play stage" and a "game stage," and subsequent theorists have discussed a later "reference group stage" involving negotiation of several reference groups (Hewitt 2000). Increased capacity to role-take is central to this progression of stages. Moving from identification with a *particular other* to reflecting on the generalized other is an aspect of expanded and increasingly abstract role-taking (Hewitt 2000, O'Brien and Kollock 1997, Charon 1998b).

Another researcher whose work is relevant to our deliberations is Lawrence Kohlberg. I will assume familiarity with Kohlberg's work on moral development, emphasizing ideas of justice and fairness. While he calls his three levels pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional, they clearly involve egocentric, ethnocentric, and universalistic forms of thinking and valuing. Kohlberg's work, or course, is again part of the Piagetian tradition. Note that the central issue in moral development for this scheme is role-taking (Kohlberg 1968, 1971; Kohlberg and Gilligan 1971; D. B. Roberts 1977). In Kohlberg's scheme, each higher stage requires an expanded ability to understand the social perspectives of others. A person can begin to understand cultural relativism only after he or she has reached the transitional phase between stages 4 and 5. Prior to that development, one is only able to role-take with significant others or with one's own in-group. Kohlberg's findings are consistent with Piaget's, but carry the research a step further in the analysis of role-taking capacity.[4]

Kohlberg's first four stages look like this:

Egocentric Level
1. Punishment: role-taking to avoid the ire of an authority
2. Cost/Benefit: role-taking to calculate one's own self-interest

[4]Carol Gilligan (1982) has challenged some of Kohlberg's work because of gender bias in his sample and in the way some of the stages (especially stages 4 and 5) have been described. However, Gilligan's own scheme also identifies levels of cognitive development based on expanded capacity to role-take, a further emphasis on the importance of role-taking in social perspective.

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Ethnocentric Level 3. Nice Boy/Girl: role-taking with one's primary group

4. Social Maintenance: role-taking within one's own secondary group

The universalistic level involves role-taking with people quite unlike oneself. It should be clear that one cannot do sociology while thinking at stages one, two, or three. One cannot do *good* sociology at stage four.

Many readers may be less familiar with James Fowler's work on "faith development" (Fowler 1981). Fowler's work is informed by a similar paradigm, but his focus is on sophistication in understanding symbols and myths, and especially the sophistication of one's epistemology (Table 2). The earlier phases of development are characterized by literalism and obsession with the opinions of authority figures. By stage four, thinkers are engaging in demystification of symbols and demythologization of myths. At the final levels, religious thinkers are able to claim personal responsibility for their own constructions of reality. In short, Fowler's work suggests that the way one constructs reality, con-

Table 2: James Fowler: Faith Development

1. **Intuitive-Projective Stage**
   Fantasy and reality are undifferentiated.
2. **Mythic Literal Stage**
   Literalistic interpretation of scriptures.
   Reciprocity with God. ("I'll go to church weekly if you'll heal my mother.")
3. **Conventional Stage**
   Conformity to the group, which is authoritative.
4. **Individuative Stage**
   Demythologize: Reduce myths and stories to rational principles.
5. **Re-mythologize Stage**
   Truth is relative and less than complete.
   Religious stories are reaffirmed, but as powerful metaphors.
6. **Universalizing Stage**
   Increasing recognition of complexity.
   Openness to insights/truths of other traditions.
   Individual must accept responsibility for social constructions of reality when it comes to meaning systems.
   Commitment to a worldview, but with openness to new information.

Source: Fowler 1981.

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cepts of authority, and notions of symbols and metaphors is shaped by intellectual development processes. Simple adherence to authorities or to group perspectives and literalism in understanding texts and symbols do not make for critical analysis of social systems, yet these are the features of the earlier modes of organizing reality. One clearly cannot do sociology or good social critique and analysis in any discipline at the lower stages.

William Perry's better known research on college students at Harvard and Radcliffe suggests nine stages of development during the college years, but these can be clustered into four levels: dualism, multiplicity, relativism, and complex analysis (Perry 1970). The key issues for Perry are notions of authority, definitions of group boundaries, epistemology, and extent of role-taking capability (Table 3). Clearly, all are key issues for the social sciences.

The basic dualism stage suggests that lower division students want to memorize "right answers." The conception of knowledge is not based on a notion of inquiry, and social boundaries are high. We/they thinking is strong, and notions of truth are absolutist and authoritarian. When a student defends a libertarian position or a very liberal argument at this stage, it may seem to represent independence of thought, but the student's reasoning is based on loyalty to a libertarian reference group that is believed to have truth and goodness on its side. The student does not engage in problem solving based on evidence and reasoning at the dualistic stage. Instructors who disagree with the student's reference group are dismissed as one of "them"—a "soft-headed liberal" or a "mean-spirited conservative" who is an impostor, not a true authority. During the college years, the analytical abilities of the students Perry studied expanded greatly, reaching the point of complex analysis and more sophisticated understanding of social processes and social relations.

Again, the evidence yielded through Perry's research suggests that high school and first-year college students are concrete operational in their thinking. Certainly formal operational thinking is necessary to understand and engage in sophisticated analysis of society: "Formal operations signify the ability to think abstractly, to form hypotheses, to theorize, to imagine many possibilities and combinations, to generate multiple solutions to problems, to comprehend subtle and symbolic meanings..." (Wilcox 1979).

Patricia King and Karen Kitchener (1994), who also operate in the larger cognitive developmentalist or developmental epistemology framework, make some unique contributions. The focus of their analysis is on epistemology; understanding of causality; connections between evi-

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Table 3: William Perry: Intellectual Development in the College Years

Basic Dualism

Describing the thought patterns of first-year students, Perry (1970, p. 9) writes, "The student sees the world in polar terms of we-right-good vs. they-wrong-bad. Right Answers for everything exist in the absolute, known to authority - whose role is to teach Right Answers. Knowledge and goodness are perceived as quantitative accretions.... to be collected by hard work and obedience." In short, knowledge for basic dualists means rote memorization. Then Perry continues, "When the student perceives diversity of opinion or uncertainty, he or she accounts for it as confusion by poorly qualified Authorities or as mere exercises by Authority 'so we can find The Answers by ourselves.'"

We	They
Good	Evil
Right	Wrong
Authorities	Charlatans

Multiplicity

- There are many perspectives for viewing complex issues.
- There is no way to determine truth.
- Everything is a matter of opinion.
- No way to determine right or wrong, so each person's answer is legitimate

Relativism

- My group's answer is not the only right answer to problems.
- Knowledge is complex and contextual.
- There are multiple truths, but each must be understood within a specific context.

Complex Analysis

- Development of one's own synthesis of complex systems of thought.
- Primary commitment to a methodology as means to determine truth.
- Tentative commitment to a theory or paradigm.

Source: Perry 1970.

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dence, logical reasoning, and conclusions; and reflection on and analysis of unstructured problems.[5] This focus is especially relevant to high level thinking in the social sciences. First, many issues in the social sciences are not highly structured (i.e., they ultimately do not have right answers that can ever be "proven"). Second, connections between evidence and conclusions are central to the social sciences. Third, one cannot do any sort of social analysis without a sophisticated understanding of causality.

King and Kitchener's model of reflective thinking (Table 5) involves seven stages, grouped into three levels. It is worth mentioning that the authors demur about the word stages, for the idea seems to connote something too fixed and too rigid. They explain that intellectual growth seems to move through a process of development, and that there are plateaus where thinking and perception issues consolidate and become integrated before the next advancement. However, any person may use reasoning from more than one "stage." This seems especially true as a single person moves from one field of study (say, physical sciences) to another (such as the social sciences or the humanities). For our purposes here, I will highlight only differences in the three broader levels of thinking in the "reflective thinking model." Those interested in a more complete summary of their sequence may want to refer to the appendix at the end of this paper.

King and Kitchener found, contrary to Perry, that entering college students are typically at about stage 3. Their subjects were not *completely* dualistic in the simplistic manner Perry had found (though King and Kitchener did find this kind of dualism among high school students). Still, entering college students were "pre-reflective." They had very little understanding of epistemology or the importance of methodology; they were absolutist, justified beliefs by reference to what an authority said, and had only a tentative idea of what comprises sound evidence in support of an argument. I simply submit that doing sociology requires ability to engage in reflective thinking! Irrespective of mastery of content, solid social analysis cannot be done through a pre-reflective or quasi-reflective prism.

[5]King and Kitchener write: "We see the development of formal operations as different from reflective judgment (King 1986). Formal operations are defined as the ability to operate both inductively and deductively on propositions and as such is a model of logical reasoning. The focus of the reflective judgment model has been a different intellectual domain, the develoment of epistemological assumptions. We have found that the ability to reason using either deductive or inductive logic does not account for differences in epistemological assumptions, even at early levels."

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Table 5: King and Kitchener: Reflective Thinking

Pre-Reflective Thinking (Stages 1, 2 and 3)

- Authority-oriented.
- Dualistic.
- Evidence is anecdotal.

Quasi-Reflective Thinking (Stages 4 and 5)

- Relativism.
- Knowing context-specific.
- Evidence in support of a position is idiosyncratic and often unconnected.

Reflective Thinking (Stages 6 and 7)

- Complex causality and connections.
- Commitment to and understanding of epistemology.
- Probabilistic commitment to particular interpretations.

Source: King and Kitchener 1994.

King and Kitchener make one further distinction that is important—that between functional level and optimal level of operations. Functional level refers to the way one solves a dilemma on the spur of the moment. One might expect these answers or musings to be less reflective and less sophisticated than the answers one gives after considerable time for contemplation and deliberation. The latter answers would represent one's optimal level of thinking. Nearly all researchers in this line of research have been measuring functional level of thinking. Student responses in class would represent one's functional level of problem solving and deliberation, while take-home exams and term papers should represent more complex and nuanced thinking. This distinction becomes noteworthy when we reflect later about implications for course design, assignments, and instruction.

I risk caricature in how I say this, but if this line of research is correct, high school and first-year college students are pre-reflective or dualistic or pre-formal-operational in their thinking. The following list of characteristics of pre-reflective thinkers is intended only as a heuristic device to reflect on curriculum objectives.

1. Pre-reflective thinkers are unable to stand outside of society and view it objectively. In short, they are incapable of cultural relativism, even as a temporary stance for social analysis.

2. They easily become confused by the concept of multiple causality or by complexity of causality. They may also have trouble under-

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standing the language of causality: contributing factors, necessary factors, sufficient factors, and necessary and sufficient. It is not uncommon for them to identify one variable as necessary and another one as sufficient, not realizing that this is a logical impossibility.

3. They tend to want simple straightforward answers to memorize, abhorring ambiguity about what is truth and how it is known. They want to know "Which theory is right?" or "Which is the correct answer?" The notion of multiple legitimate perspectives is distressful.

4. Symbols are confused with the reality they represent since the student has little understanding of the social construction of much of reality. The flag is the nation; the sign of Satan is intrinsically contaminating and dangerous.

5. There is little or no conception of commitment to a methodology or an epistemology. Comprehension of how one knows and the issues surrounding one's epistemology remain implicit and vague.

It seems to me obvious that doing sociology and engaging in social analysis in any social science discipline require reflective thinking. Empirical research suggests that reflective thinking capacity develops in plateaus and evolves through a predictable sequence. If this is so, it appears logical to build curricular goals with this knowledge of human intellectual development in mind. In short, it is essential in thinking about curriculum to build in objectives that move beyond just *content* of the discipline. We must also pay attention to "deep structure" objectives in curriculum design and in creating course assignments.

Paying attention to research on intellectual development does not mean that we must feel fatalistic—that we must conclude that sophisticated thinking cannot occur at younger ages. It is noteworthy that Piaget originally thought formal operational thinking could be achieved by the beginning of adolescence (12 to 15 years of age). The research indicates that, without the proper social stimuli and experiences, adults may remain pre-reflective through much of their adult lives. Can at least quasi-reflective thinking be developed in high school, at least among our brighter students? I would be very optimistic that it can be. However, teachers and curriculum designers must be informed by the research on what kinds of experiences create quasi-reflective and reflective thinking. We must start by having appropriate goals. Without the appropriate goals informing our instruction, even college seniors may not develop reflective thinking. Instead, they may have learned to memorize what authorities told them and mastered the art of taking multiple-choice and true-false examinations. One can commit certain content to memory without transforming one's perspective; likewise, one can explain social theories without a fundamental shift in one's own paradigm. Thus, if

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sophistication in social analysis and complexity of thought are our aims for students, we must pay more attention to deep-structure learning. Indeed, it is essential to democracy to have a significant proportion of the population capable of formal thinking. Clearly, one worthy goal of social science education is to ensure that every college graduate is capable of "reflective" or "formal operational" thinking, and that every high school graduate is quasi-reflective.

Intellectual Development and Micro-Sociology

The dominant sociological perspective in micro-sociology is symbolic interactionism or social constructionism. This perspective emphasizes the way human beings make sense of reality and translate that construction of reality into social action. It makes some sense, then, to discuss how this perspective "fits" with the cognitive development paradigm.

Symbolic interactionists believe that humans act based on their definition of reality in a given situation—the meanings that things or events have for them. Individuals derive these meanings as they interact with others. Hence, humans are, above all, symbol-creating and symbol-modifying creatures, but they are also meaning-creating animals. As humans interact, they go about the task of fitting their actions together because of shared perceptions or shared meanings, and these are communicated to others through symbols. Meaning is not inherent in events but is created by individuals and communicated among them. Through internal manipulation of symbols and watching or listening to other people, we *define situations* and determine how we should act. Human action is caused not only by social interaction, but also results from interaction within the individual. Humans use symbols to reform and remake their reality (Charon 1998a, Hewitt 2000)

Symbolic interactionism depicts humans as active agents who consciously, deliberately, and directly fashion their personal and collective histories. More than any other theory in the social sciences, symbolic interactionism stresses the agency—the active decision-making role—of humans within their societies. Although rational choice theory also stresses individual choice based on self-interest and cost/benefit calculus, social constructionists recognize an even more active agency in creating one's reality (Hewitt 2000, O'Brien and Kollock 1997). Vander Zanden (1987) describes the proactive view of humans in decision-making this way:

> Symbolic interactionists reject the notion that people automatically and mechanically react to given stimuli. Instead,

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> they portray people as creatively constructing their actions in accordance with the meanings that the people attribute to a situation. Individuals are believed to rehearse their actions mentally before acting and then to function as audiences to their own actions.
>
> Symbolic interactionists consider a certain amount of indeterminacy or unpredictability as inherent to human behavior because people must continually fashion meanings and devise ways to fit their actions together (Vander Zanden 1987).

Theorists in this tradition also recognize that intellectual development or capacity to reflect is developmental, but they pay much less attention to a structure of the mind at various sequential stages. Thus, there are some differences between the dominant micro-sociological thinking and the model used in much of this paper. Still, symbolic interactionists would agree that people interpret events and experiences in light of already-existing meaning systems (and each plateau or level might be conceived as a way of defining reality—as a meaning system that shapes perception). Further, since exposure to alternative meaning systems is one factor in eliciting change in one's definition of reality, the notion of benign disruption as a method of eliciting more sophisticated thinking is compatible with micro-sociological theory. Finally, the emphasis on role-taking as core to increased intellectual sophistication is affirmed by both paradigms.

The social construction paradigm in sociology stresses that humans are active agents, and this is no less true in the classroom. Students are actively constructing meaning. Indeed, they may be deciphering the meaning of a professor's teaching style and how open the instructor is to debate. Likewise, they are defining the situation relative to peers in the classroom, informally negotiating who has responsibility for responding when the instructor asks a question and then waits an interminably long period of time. They are deciding whether the environment is "safe"—whether they can participate without fear of ridicule by other players in the room. The lens—the meaning frame—with which students make sense of the reality of the classroom shapes the success of instructors in addressing the goals and strategies spelled out below. Not only is human intellectual development complex, but so is the interactive dance of the classroom by which norms and meanings are established.

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Deep-Structure Curriculum Goals for Sociology Courses

With the foregoing discussion regarding intellectual development in mind, it is time to address the question of what kinds of objectives are appropriate and necessary for the sociology curriculum, especially at introductory levels.[6] In basic sociology courses, students should:

1. *Expand their role-taking abilities: increase their capacity to step outside of their own cultural context in order to critique it.* Expansion of role-taking ability is, for me, the single most important objective for a course at any level. All good sociology and all good social analysis are tied to this competency.

2. *Understand the sacralization of the social order:* develop an awareness of the continuing effort by those with power and privilege to make the current system appear uniquely right and just and ordained by God. This is especially important in early courses, since it helps students break out of simplistic acceptance of the status quo and conformity to proclamations by "authority."

3. *Understand that science is committed first, foremost, and always to a* ***Methodology****.* They should understand that theories may come and go, but that which makes science a science is the commitment to a particular way of knowing—an empirical epistemology.

4. *Comprehend that all science (indeed, all knowledge) is constantly open to new data and new interpretation*—that no knowledge is absolute and beyond further investigation.

5. *Be able to illustrate the fact that, regarding human behavior, causality is often complex and multivariate.*

6. *Be able to use the language of causality correctly and with sophistication.* This ability includes making distinctions between contributing factors, necessary factors, and sufficient factors in discussions of social causality.

7. *Be able to comprehend and discuss the idea that multiple perspectives enhance knowledge.* While scholars ("authorities") may differ, they can still respect the views and contributions of others.

8. *Comprehend and be able to illustrate the idea that symbols are culturally and situationally relative.*

9. *Develop an awareness that what any given society holds as truth is, at least* ***partially****, socially constructed. On the other hand, commitment to rigorous analysis and to a systematic methodology can lead us*

[6]The following list is a revised and expanded version of a list provided in my earlier work (Roberts 1986).

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to knowing certain things with a degree of confidence. Whether the first or second half of this is stressed depends in large measure on the level of the course and the "plateau level" of the students.

10. *Begin to cultivate skills in independent thinking by developing their own thesis statement, supporting that thesis with a logical rationale and appropriate evidence, and presenting the thesis in a convincing fashion, either orally or in writing.* I often find that students think a thesis is a topic sentence writ large. If they are to write as social scientists, they must understand that a thesis is a one-sentence summary of the answer to the central question of the essay. They must also understand what comprises scientific evidence in support of an argument and how logical reasoning and evidence work together to support a thesis. Student mastery of this takes many years and much intentional effort by the instructor.

Many of these goals are especially relevant for the first course—which is likely to be pitched to students who are still pre-reflective. However, objectives 1, 3, 5, and 10 are so central that, in my judgment, they should be reinforced in every course in the curriculum. Role-taking appears to be the central prerequisite for understanding other societies, for engaging in reflective thinking about oneself in social context, and for doing critical thinking about one's own society. Understanding the epistemological basis of evidence is clearly essential for understanding and critiquing social research and for constructing an argument about social policy. Comprehending the multiplicity of variables that can contribute to a social process and discerning complexity in causal reasoning are also essential to any sophisticated understanding of society. Being able to write persuasively, using empirical evidence and reasoning to support a well-constructed and well-modulated thesis, is equally indispensable to doing social science. These are not "concepts" that are normally included in a list of sociological ideas to be mastered (such as role strain, role conflict, formal and informal social structure, or institutionalized discrimination), but they are underlying competencies that must be developed if the sociological concepts are to be utilized effectively. That is why they need to be understood as deep-structure objectives. They have to do with epistemological issues of how individuals perceive and think.

Implications of These Deep-Structure Objectives for Curriculum and Instruction

My argument in this paper is that attention to deep structures of thinking must be part of our focus in developing curriculum and in de-

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signing learning materials and assignments. In the long run, I do not think that purely disciplinary content-driven curriculum will serve the needs of our students, our disciplines, or the larger society. The following are some of the implications of this approach for curriculum and for teaching.

1. To do social science or just to think analytically about society, one must move beyond pre-reflective or quasi-reflective thinking (that is, beyond dualism or simplistic relativism). Analysis of our course design in light of cognitive development theory involves review of all aspects of teaching: articulation of course goals, choice of assigned reading material, design of class time, development of examination and evaluation processes, and cultivation of a healthy social environment for learning.

2. Students can memorize content regarding cultural relativism or symbolic interaction and never modify their view of the world. Students may simply commit to memory what the AUTHORITY says and continue in a pre-formal or quasi-reflective mode of thinking. Thus we must not stop with content goals. We must also establish deep-structure or reflective thinking objectives.

3. Some teaching strategies tend to encourage dependence on an *authority* who has *right answers*.

- True/false examinations *especially* reinforce the notion that all knowledge is closed-ended or highly structured. Any objective test can further this perspective, but true/false questions are especially likely to reify the notion of absolutes. Examinations must do more than require rote memorization if deep-structure learning is to be achieved. If students learn that they can be highly successful in a course simply by memorizing RIGHT ANSWERS, they will not likely make the effort to analyze and synthesize the material.
- Lecture *rarely* enhances role-taking in students, yet role-taking seems especially critical to development. Active learning modalities are essential.
- Because they involve affective as well as intellectual elements of role-taking, simulation games can be especially powerful tools of teaching. The same is true of inductive instructional strategies in the classroom.
- Notions of teaching as "transmitting knowledge" must be abandoned, for they reinforce pre-formal and quasi-formal modes of thinking. Such ideas of instruction may actually serve to stunt intellectual development.

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- The "objectivist paradigm" of the classroom, which Parker Palmer believes is the dominant model in higher education, establishes the object of study as distant from the learner and the "expert" as the intermediary. The notion that only the expert can know reinforces dualistic thinking (Palmer 1998).
- Parker Palmer also argues persuasively that use of competition as a motivator in the classroom fosters a linear, static, and hierarchical approach to education, and this lends itself to dualism. Competition is a secretive zero-sum game played by individuals for their own gain (Palmer 1998, p.103) The alternative is open conflict: "Competition is the...acid that can dissolve the fabric of relationships. Conflict is the dynamic by which we test ideas in the open, in a communal effort to stretch each other and make better sense of the world" (Palmer 1998, 103). Competition creates defensiveness that undermines the trust level essential to growth to the next level.

4. Certain types of content lend themselves well to deep-structure development. For example, at the earliest stages, emic analysis is especially important, as it *requires* role-taking. But good etic analysis also requires role-taking with various interpretive points of view. Likewise, symbolic interaction theories can be powerful in addressing some of the deep-structure curriculum goals regarding symbols and social construction of reality. The content of sociology and anthropology is extremely well suited for addressing deep-structure objectives, but these objectives must still be a conscious focus of instruction. Otherwise, paradigm transformation may not occur.

5. Piaget and later structuralists have emphasized that movement to a higher stage is stimulated by cognitive dissonance—intellectual conflict that occurs when one's problem-solving processes are not adequate to resolve a new dilemma. In this respect, cognitive structuralism is akin to the cognitive consistency theories of Fritz Heider (1946, 1958) and Leon Festinger (1957). While cognitive consistency theories have been criticized for overemphasizing the importance of a presumed innate drive for intellectual coherence and consistency, a body of research suggests that a desire for such coherence can be at least one variable in the change of attitudes, perceptions, and modes of thinking (Heider 1946, Perry 1970, Kohlberg 1971, Kegan 1982, Wilcox 1979). Cognitive developmentalism may provide us with a theoretical context for understanding the effectiveness of "benign disruption" in teaching (Goldsmid and Wilson 1980, Baker and Jones 1979), for benign disruption is a specific teaching strategy that causes cognitive dissonance.

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King and Kitchener (1994, 228-229) write: "Development is stimulated when an individual's experiences do not match his or her expectations. Disjunctive experiences that engage a person's attention may provoke him or her to reconsider, reinterpret, or reject prior assumptions or beliefs. Such provocative experiences prod the individual to review earlier assumptions or ways of thinking." Benign disruption may need to become an explicit instructional strategy.

6. Instructors need to provide *supports* as well as *challenges* in interactions with students. Benign disruption must occur within a context of safety and support. For that reason, rapport is critical. Further, support may need to be intellectual, but it also may need to be emotional, since some issues have both emotional and intellectual grounding. Thinking that requires a challenge to the absolute authority of sacred scripture, for example, can result in intense emotional upheaval.

7. Instructors need to be aware that what students perceive as challenges or supports may differ depending on developmental level. King and Kitchener (1994, 246) write: "Students' epistemic assumptions affect their perceptions of challenging and supportive interactions. This essential insight explains why a favorite strategy works quite effectively with some students, yet fails to elicit reflective thinking with others."

8. Different instructional goals and strategies may be appropriate for students with different epistemic assumptions. Thus, teaching goals and strategies may need to be adjusted to meet student competencies and outlooks.

9. Exposing students to unstructured problems or open-ended dilemmas early in the curriculum is critical.

10. The curriculum needs to "create multiple opportunities for students to examine different points of view on a topic....Create opportunities and provide encouragement for students to make judgments and to explain what they believe" (King and Kitchener 1994, 237). Assignments might even ask students to write a position paper and a few days later to write a critique of that position from an alternative theoretical perspective.

11. Instructors and curriculum designers should be cognizant of which goals or skills are cultivated by each assignment or instructional strategy. Each assignment ought to be created with attention not only to content, but to deep-structure curricular objectives.

12. When students are given opportunities to make judgments about ambiguous situations, the instructor should seek opportunities to ask epistemic questions—issues of whether, what, and how one can know in order to make a better judgment.

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13. Depending on level of intellectual sophistication, instructors may be well advised to use *rapport* as a teaching *strategy*. At this point we can borrow a page from other cognitive consistency theories to understand how student-professor rapport can be an important part of the learning environment (Heider 1946, 1958; Kegan 1982). If the student agrees with an instructor on a given issue, and if the student respects the instructor as an authority in the field, no cognitive dissonance is created for the basic dualist. If the student strongly disagrees with an instructor on an issue, one means of reducing dissonance is simply to dismiss the instructor as one of "them" ("right-wing fanatic" or "liberal lunatic") or to define the instructor as poorly qualified and ignorant of "The Truth." The pre-reflective outlook provides a mechanism to polarize any emotionally charged situation and thereby to reduce dissonance. However, if an instructor cultivates a friendly, concerned attitude toward those students who strongly disagree with him or her, the student finds it difficult to classify the professor as part of the "them-charlatans-falsehood" category. This dilemma creates serious cognitive dissonance for the student involved, and dissonance or benign disruption is critical to cognitive development.

For this reason, maintenance of rapport with students—especially those students who show their disapproval—can be a very important teaching strategy. For example, when a student responds with hostility to a lecture or readings on evolution or on socio-biology because that student adheres to the Authority of the Bible and the accuracy of the creationism myth, instructors may respond constructively by taking a personal interest in the student and making an effort to be especially friendly. This personal interest prevents the student from dismissing the instructor as one of "them" and creates cognitive dissonance for the student. Thus, rapport can be seen as a teaching strategy rather than just a pleasantry of the classroom.

14. Because writing is so central to thinking and because it fosters role-taking ability (Roberts 1993), instructors should be encouraged to use writing and should require multiple drafts of some assignments. Writing freezes one's thinking on paper. Revision of one's writing requires one to role-take with an imaginary reader and to critique one's own work as though someone else had written it. First drafts are writer-based; they must be transformed into reader-based prose. In this act, one not only is forced to role-take, but the writer pushes her or his thinking from functional levels of analysis to optimal levels. Since it appears that optimal levels of thinking must first advance and that functional levels

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follow, this advancing of optimal levels will hopefully advance the functional levels of analysis as well.[7]

Conclusion

Research on intellectual development, especially that research focusing on cognitive development of high school and traditionally-aged college students, has important implications for curricular objectives in the social sciences and for social science instruction itself. If we hope to teach students critical thinking—as is so often stated as the objective—then we need to have objectives for instruction that take into account the deep-structure processes that encourage or retard independent critical thinking. The social science disciplines are not well served by students who are less than formal operational and reflective in their thinking. Further, pluralistic democracy is not well served if the citizenry is pre-reflective or even quasi-reflective. John Hibbing's call elsewhere in this discussion ("Politics Is Not a Dirty Word"), for increasing student tolerance of ambiguity in the messy world of politics is consistent with my own thesis, for increased ability to cope with shades of gray is one component of an advanced capacity to be reflective.

One important task of social science disciplines is to make explicit the deep-structure, epistemic competencies needed in the social sciences and to translate those into objectives appropriate for each discipline. This paper has been an attempt to make explicit some of those objectives and issues for sociology curriculum and instruction.

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[7]At this point, however, we must acknowledge that there is very litle hard empirical evidence on the connections between functional and optimal levels of thinking.

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Appendix
Summary of Reflective Judgment Stages

Pre-Reflective Thinking (Stages 1, 2, and 3)

Stage 1

View of knowledge: Knowledge is assumed to exist absolutely and concretely; it is not understood as an abstraction. It can be obtained with certainty by direct observation.

Concept of justification: Beliefs need no justification since there is assumed to be absolute correspondence between what is believed to be true and what is true. Alternate beliefs are not perceived.

"I know what I have seen."

Stage 2

View of knowledge: Knowledge is assumed to be absolutely certain or certain but not immediately available. Knowledge can be obtained directly through the senses (as in direct observation) or via authority figures.

Concept of justification: Beliefs are unexamined and unjustified or justified by their correspondence with the beliefs of an authority figure (such as a teacher or parent). Most issues are assumed to have a right answer, so there is little or no conflict in making decisions about disputed issues.

"If it is on the news, it has to be true."

Stage 3

View of knowledge: Knowledge is assumed to be absolutely certain or temporarily uncertain. In areas of temporary uncertainty, only personal beliefs can be known until absolute knowledge is obtained. In areas of absolute certainty, knowledge is obtained from authorities.

Source: "Summary of Reflective Judgment Stages," from *Developing Reflective Judgment: Understanding and Promoting Intellectual Growth and Critical Thinking in Adolescents and Adults*, by Patricia King and Karen Strohm Kitchener 1994, pp. 14-16. Reprinted by permission of Jossey-Bass, Inc., a subsidiary of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

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Concept of justification: In areas in which certain answers exist, beliefs are justified by reference to authorities' views. In areas in which answers do not exist, beliefs are defended as personal opinion since the link between evidence and beliefs is unclear.

> "When there is evidence that people can give to convince everybody one way or another, then it will be knowledge; until then, it's just a guess."

Quasi-Reflective Thinking (Stages 4 and 5)

Stage 4

View of knowledge: Knowledge is uncertain and knowledge claims are idiosyncratic to the individual since situational variables (such as incorrect reporting of data, data lost over time, or disparities in access to information) dictate that knowing always involves an element of ambiguity.

Concept of justification: Beliefs are justified by giving reasons and using evidence, but the arguments and choice of evidence are idiosyncratic (for example, choosing evidence that fits an established belief).

> "I'd be more inclined to believe evolution if they had proof. It's just like the pyramids: I don't think we'll ever know. Who are you going to ask? No one was there."

Stage 5

View of knowledge: Knowledge is contextual and subjective since it is filtered through a person's perceptions and criteria for judgment. Only interpretations of evidence, events, or issues may be known.

Concept of justification: Beliefs are justified within a particular context by means of the rules of inquiry for that context and by context or are balanced against other interpretations, which complicates (and sometimes delays) conclusions.

> "People think differently and so they attack the problem differently. Other theories could be as true as my own, but based on different evidence."

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Reflective Thinking (Stages 6 and 7)

Stage 6

View of knowledge: Knowledge is constructed into individual conclusions about ill-structured problems on the basis of information from a variety of sources. Interpretations that are based on evaluations of evidence across contexts and on the evaluated opinions of reputable others can be known.

Concept of justification: Beliefs are justified by comparing evidence and opinion from different perspectives on an issue or across different contexts and by constructing solutions that are evaluated by criteria such as the weight of the evidence, the utility of the solution, or the pragmatic need for action.

> "It's very difficult in this life to be sure. There are degrees of sureness. You come to a point at which you are sure enough for a personal stance on the issue."

Stage 7

View of knowledge: Knowledge is the outcome of a process of reasonable inquiry in which solutions to ill-structured problems are constructed. The adequacy of those solutions is evaluated in terms of what is most reasonable or probable according to the current evidence, and it is reevaluated when relevant new evidence, perspectives, or tools of inquiry become available.

Concept of justification: Beliefs are justified probabilistically on the basis of a variety of interpretive considerations, such as the weight of the evidence, the explanatory value of the interpretations, the risk of erroneous conclusions, consequences of alternative judgments, and the interrelationships of these factors. Conclusions are defended as representing the most complete, plausible, or compelling understanding of an issue on the basis of the available evidence.

> "One can judge an argument by how well thought-out the positions are, what kinds of reasoning and evidence are used to support it, and how consistent the way one argues on this topic is as compared with other topics."

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Professional Assciations and Educational Advocacy: The Behavioral Sciences in U.S. Schools

By Ruth O. Selig

Introduction

Within the social sciences, psychology, sociology, and anthropology stand together as the behavioral sciences, each emphasizing a central prism through which to understand human behavior: the individual, society, culture. Because the three behavioral sciences overlap in their central focus on human behavior, some topics (e.g., socialization, deviance, race and ethnicity, marriage and kinship patterns) are examined in all three disciplines. Furthermore, the three cross the boundaries between the humanities and the sciences, particularly the biological and statistical sciences, and all three serve as components of social studies taught in schools. The blurring of boundaries, both among the three behavioral sciences and between them and the "hard" sciences, and the integration of behavioral science subject matter into various school curricula and teacher-training courses make it difficult to assess to what extent psychology, sociology, and anthropology actually are taught in schools.

The United States has a highly decentralized educational system, which has resulted in a lack of consistent, easily accessible state-by-state data on the teaching of social science courses, on standards for the certification of teachers to teach specific social science courses, and on the use of various textbooks in such courses. Although this chapter cites a good deal of information of this nature, collected at various times for various research projects and studies, the general lack of consistent nationwide data compounds the challenge of portraying the status of the behavioral sciences in schools.

This chapter begins with an argument and a snapshot, an argument to support the teaching of the behavioral sciences in schools and a snap-

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shot of the status of precollegiate teaching of psychology, sociology, and anthropology at the millennium. Both the argument and the snapshot support the assertion that the behavioral sciences are, in some ways, well positioned to increase their influence in schools, despite several serious roadblocks. These obstacles include, most importantly, the standards movement that has, according to Jean Craven, Director of Curriculum and Instruction for the Albuquerque Public Schools, "brought history, geography, and civic education (and to a lesser extent, economics) much more strongly to the center of social studies education K-12 and has marginalized the behavioral sciences as part of social studies" (Craven 2001).

Despite such obstacles, the rationale for teaching the behavioral sciences has never been stronger because of the world in which our students live; because the boundaries between the social, physical, and biological sciences are blurring; and because teaching the behavioral sciences is receiving support from national associations as well as from social scientists who believe in their disciplines' relevance and importance to K-12 education.

Following the snapshot of the behavioral sciences in schools, the chapter presents three case studies, offering historical perspective and lessons for the future. The first two case studies allow the reader to compare two associations' 25-year record of strong commitment to supporting the teaching of their disciplines in schools: the American Psychological Association and the American Sociological Association. The third case study looks at the history of anthropology in schools and the intermittent involvement of anthropologists within the American Anthropological Association (AAA) in trying to encourage more anthropology in schools.

The three case studies demonstrate that a continual interplay of factors explains what happens in schools on the local level and within disciplinary associations on the national level. These factors include the general intellectual, social, economic, and education context; the political arena and consequent funding resources; and the impact that committed individuals, groups, or associations can play in furthering changes in schools, including changes in what subjects are taught and how teachers are trained. For the behavioral sciences, the case studies demonstrate that psychology has had by far the most success as a subject in pre-college classrooms, provided one defines success as teaching a particular subject as a separate high school elective in a large number of school districts and having a high number of students taking Advanced Placement examinations in that subject.

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An Argument for the Behavioral Sciences in Schools

As we enter the 21st century, educators see a rapidly changing, multicultural society, increasingly affected by large socioeconomic and global transformations, a revolution in information technology, an explosion of knowledge, and a changing workplace with new gender dynamics. Teachers face different classrooms than they did 40 or even 20 years ago. Approximately 30 percent of students today are from racial and ethnic minorities; many speak English as a second language, and, in some schools, most children come from immigrant or minority backgrounds. A century ago the same was true, but schools aimed toward a "melting pot." Today, we realize our students need to understand and value the pluralism and diversity that comprise our national heritage. In a world of rapid transformation, our students need to understand social change, understanding that can come from knowledge imparted by the social sciences. When knowledge and technology change year by year rather than decade by decade, our students must learn to learn, must increase their critical reasoning and evaluation skills, skills some would argue are best learned through the social sciences. The concepts, perspectives, and resources from the behavioral sciences provide teachers and students with powerful tools for understanding themselves and others in today's changing world.

In recent years, the demographic changes in the nation's schools and the increased awareness brought about by the new social history and the expanded attention to women and minorities in social studies textbooks have created pressure on teachers to address multicultural issues in their classrooms. Anthropology, sociology, and psychology should be at the forefront of this effort because they help students understand how culture and society affect human beings and how societies adapt and change by developing different cultural ways of life. Long before multiculturalism became a popular term in school parlance—in the 1970s and early 1980s—I taught anthropology courses to 8th-, 9th-, and 12th-graders as well as yearlong anthropology classes specifically designed for teachers. Over and over again, students and teachers emerged from these classes, taught in the Washington, DC, area and in Laramie, Wyoming, with a new appreciation of their own and others' cultural heritage, with a renewed commitment to understanding other people on their own terms, and with a new awareness of their own ethnocentrism. As all of us know, these subjects are powerful because they change learners' views of the world, sensitizing them to other peoples' behavior and cultures.

In research, the gap between the social sciences and the hard sciences is narrowing, suggesting that our students must be educated across

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the physical, biological, and social sciences. Dr. John Yellen, Program Officer in Anthropology at the National Science Foundation, when asked to describe major research trends in the social sciences, pinpointed (1) the use and analysis of huge computer databases to ask new kinds of questions, (2) the application of the scientific experimental approach across all social science disciplines through the construction of computer models of the real world in order to understand, explain, and predict human behavior, and (3) the application of the cognitive sciences to the social sciences, through studies of the brain (MRI technologies) to understand and predict behavior patterns (Yellen 2000).

Whereas 25 years ago the social and biological sciences were quite separate in methodology and approach, today the gap is closing. Our students need to study the social sciences as much as they need to study the biological and physical sciences if they are to have the tools to understand and operate within the modern world.

The Behavioral Sciences in Schools: A Snapshot

Because the concepts of culture, society, and behavior have been incorporated into mainstream thinking and thus into geography, history, and social studies textbooks over the past 40 years, I believe the behavioral sciences are better integrated into school curriculum and teacher training than at any other time in school history, even the 1960s. A cultural framework infuses both elementary and middle school history and geography. As Jean Craven has pointed out, "anthropology provides a cultural framework for the geography that is so pervasive at these grade levels–a framework that is highly motivating and explanatory for them. It keeps the kids focused on people, not just places and things" (Craven 2001). In history, a cultural framework helps focus students on people's lives and on social change through time, rather than the earlier, exclusive focus on dates and political events. In other words, the subjects in elementary and middle school are no longer taught primarily as the memorization of dry facts; rather, topics are presented within a cultural and social framework. Working against these trends, however, are the standards movement and emphasis on test-taking, which may refocus teachers on the memorization of factual material.

I believe the 1960s and 1990s stand as pivotal decades in the 20th century's history of the behavioral sciences in schools and in the national organizations' support for K-12 education. The 1980s appear to have been a period of retrenchment, perhaps stemming from a national pullback of education and federal research funding, particularly during the Reagan years. (One important exception to this generalization is the

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story of geography, which took off between 1985 and 1995 with powerful and substantial funding from the National Geographic Society.)

The case studies that follow point to one possible reason why the 1960s and 1990s were critical decades for the incorporation of social sciences in schools: these two decades witnessed increased concern with social upheavals in American society that brought ethnic and racial subgroups within our society to the forefront. At such times of increased social conflict, attention becomes focused on schools as institutions for positive social change, since teachers can be trained to foster mutual understanding and acculturation of large numbers of students from varying backgrounds. In a time of rapid social transformation and dislocation, educators, political leaders, national funding organizations, and scholars may find a common agenda in pushing for more recognition and funding for the social sciences, including their integration into precollege curriculum and teacher training.

It is instructive to compare the 1960s and 1990s as the two decades of progress in introducing psychology, sociology, and anthropology to the precollege classroom. The 1960s began with the energy of a new administration and witnessed a national commitment to science and social science education as the result of Sputnik and new thinking about pedagogy, content, and curriculum. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed enormous upheavals in American society, including heightened reform movements for minorities and women. As during the 1930s and 1940s, when anthropologists first argued for anthropology's inclusion in American schools, social scientists argued that their disciplines might have a practical use in helping to combat such societal ills as racism, the aftermath of colonialism, and the threat of war.

In summary, the first major effort to expand the social sciences into pre-college education occurred in the 1960s, when the aftermath of Sputnik increased federal funding for curriculum development and teacher training in many of the sciences and social sciences. Several national projects produced well received materials, but few achieved widespread or long-term use. According to Marion Rice, the demanding nature of the materials, teachers' generally weak background in the behavioral sciences, and the lack of funds for dissemination and teacher training accounted for the failure of these early attempts to inject the behavioral sciences into the pre-college curriculum (Rice 1986). In addition, some projects, such as the National Science Foundation-funded elementary curriculum project *Man, A Course of Study (MACOS),* became the focus of local and even national controversy, detailed in a fascinating account by the MACOS project director (Dow 1991). Yet progress was made; it was in the 1960s, for the first time, that social scientists became involved with formal programs aimed at pre-college

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teachers—through federally funded curriculum projects and teacher-training institutes (Higgins 1993; Rice 1993). Large-scale federally funded programs developed curricula, including *MACOS* developed by Education Development Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the University of Georgia's *Anthropology Curriculum Project,* directed by Marion Rice with U.S. Department of Education funding; *Patterns of Human History,* developed by Malcolm Collier of the University of Chicago, with funding from the National Science Foundation and under the auspices of the American Anthropological Association; *Teaching Modules in Sociology,* under the auspices of the American Sociological Association; and other curriculum materials developed through the American Psychological Association.

During these years, the national associations of the three behavioral sciences responded; the psychology and sociology associations, in particular, built new infrastructures of programs and staffing to support the new initiatives for schools. Although the American Anthropological Association supported *Patterns in Human History* because of its NSF funding source, once the funding withered in the early 1970s, the push within the AAA quickly collapsed, and little institutional support or staff attention was given to pre-college anthropology until quite recently.

The 1990s were, according to staff members at the three professional behavioral science associations (anthropology, psychology, and sociology), a decade of increased interest within the associations in the broader dissemination of their discipline, both to the general public and to teachers and students in K-12 schools. In addition, the ASA staff member who has promoted the teaching of sociology for more than 20 years, Carla Howery, believes that the 1990s witnessed significant improvement in the status of sociology teaching at both the high school and college levels as well as in funding resources, after a serious decline during the 1980s (Howery 2000). For both the decline and resurgence, Howery points to the connections between national politics, social upheavals, funding resources, and social science education. Howery believes that the positive trends for sociology over the past decade are reflected in increased college enrollments, new programs appearing on college campuses and in high schools, and new and better funding opportunities for faculty. ASA is currently working with the College Board Association to institute an Advanced Placement Examination in Sociology, expected within the next year or two.

The ASA Resource Center sold $60,000 worth of teaching materials in 1999. Most of these materials are aimed at professors teaching college undergraduates and community college students; some high school teachers buy these materials as well. In general, however, as sociologist

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Keith A. Roberts explained, "the ASA's Teaching Resource Center is, in fact, one of the best-kept secrets in the country as far as secondary teachers are concerned" (Roberts 2001).

At the American Psychological Association, as at the American Sociological Association, staff members describe new initiatives, energy, and enthusiasm for the increasing role that the APA believes high school psychology is playing in the profession. The AP Examination in Psychology, first instituted in 1990 after a decade of lobbying effort by the APA, is one of the fastest-growing AP examinations in the United States. Last August, the APA's National Council approved new national standards for the teaching of high school psychology. Within the APA organization is an active and dynamic organization for high school teachers called TOPSS (Teachers of Psychology in Secondary School).

Finally, the American Anthropological Association in 1998 issued a long-range plan; the objectives articulated in the plan include facilitating the incorporation of anthropological knowledge into K-12 and community college curricula and fostering dissemination of research on critical social issues to policy-makers. To address the K-12 objective, the AAA's Executive Committee in 1999 appointed an official "AAA Commission to Promote Anthropology in K-12" and targeted for a proposed capital campaign activities "to position anthropological concepts more centrally in the pre-K-12, community college, and adult education curricula." This effort follows an earlier 1990 AAA "Task Force on Teaching Anthropology in Schools," which undertook a number of initiatives to increase anthropology's presence in school curriculum and teacher training.

Clearly, the national professional organizations in the behavioral sciences stand ready in the year 2001 to increase their disciplines' presence in schools.

Case Study One: High School Psychology and the American Psychological Association

Psychology stands "heads and shoulders" above the other behavioral sciences in terms of numbers (APA membership is about 140,000 with staff at APA nearing 500; AAA membership is about 10,500 and ASA 13,500, both with fewer than 40 staff at their national offices); visibility in schools (the APA estimates that 800,000 high school students enrolled in psychology courses, 36,000 enrolled in AP courses, and 2,197 "teacher affiliates" belonged to the APA in 2000, most of whom presumably teach psychology at the high school level); and staff and funding support for pre-college programs within the national asso-

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ciations (about 2 1/2 staff at APA; a portion of one staff person at ASA who also handles undergraduate teaching but has a long-standing commitment to high school sociology; and a small portion of one staff person's time at AAA). In addition, according to staff at the APA, psychology is one of the fastest-growing advanced placement examinations offered to seniors in high school; no advanced placement examination exists for either sociology or anthropology;

The APA's record in support of high school psychology is long and distinguished, but not unbroken, since the 1982-1989 decline in support for the social sciences affected psychology as well as sociology and anthropology. In the 1960s and 1970s, APA capitalized on the federal infusion of funding for science. The APA appointed an official task force that became the Committee on Psychology in the Secondary Schools, supported throughout the 1970s by a full-time staff person responsible for advocating and supporting psychology as a high school subject. The Committee on Psychology in the Secondary Schools consisted of six academic psychologists, primarily individuals who were running NSF-funded psychology curriculum development and teacher-training programs for teachers. The Committee was supported by the APA to meet twice a year in Washington to review materials produced by APA staff for teachers. As a result, resource books, bibliographies and leaflets, guidelines for introducing new courses, guidelines for the certification of high school psychology teachers, and eventually a newsletter, *The High School Psychology Teacher*, were distributed to high school teachers who joined APA as "affiliates" at reduced teacher rates. By 1981, APA had 870 high school affiliates, and the newsletter was being distributed to 1,295 subscribers. Between 1978 and 1981, by far the largest number of submitted and funded social science grants to the NSF Pre-College Teacher Development in Science Program was in psychology; the smallest number was in anthropology (Selig 1982, 16).

By 1985, however, the pullback of federal funding for pre-college science and social science (in 1983, for example, the entire NSF Pre-College Teacher Development Program was closed due to cutbacks in NSF funding) prompted the APA to abolish its Committee for Psychology in the Secondary Schools and eliminate the staff who had supported the Committee. An "affiliate" membership continued for teachers, but the numbers declined, with 1984-1986 showing the lowest number (602) of affiliates; by 1989 only 877 or 45 percent of those receiving the newsletter had paid-up membership status. In interviews, Martha Braswell and Paul Nelson from the APA and Carla Howery from the ASA expressed their perception that 1984-1989 were indeed the "rough," "lean," and "hitting the bottom" years for the behavioral sciences in schools, with the conservative political climate impacting fund-

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ing for the social sciences and education. What happened to school courses in the behavioral sciences is difficult to document, but an anecdote from my own experience also points to a decline. In 1983, after I had been involved for five years in expanding anthropology teacher-training programs in the Washington metropolitan area, I was told by one social science coordinator, Richard Wilson, that 25 percent of the social studies teachers in his county (Montgomery) had taken training in anthropology and that many of his schools were offering anthropology as a separate high school subject. Ten years later, Mr. Wilson, still the social studies coordinator, told me there was virtually no anthropology left in the county schools; the focus had shifted to geography with the new infusion of funding for teacher training and curriculum development in that subject.

During the 1990s resurgence for the social sciences in general and the behavioral sciences, in particular, the APA's pre-college efforts allowed staffing and programs to grow rapidly; today's education staff characterize the initiatives taking place on behalf of high school psychology as energetic and dynamic. The results are even more impressive than in the 1970s, since the initiatives are more institutionalized now, within both APA and the educational system. In addition, an entire division of APA is dedicated to increasing the public's understanding of the discipline, an effort parallel to an effort at the American Anthropological Association to increase the public understanding of anthropology.

It is important to remember that the APA has made a major commitment to encouraging the teaching of psychology as a high school elective and that the association's measure of "success" has little to do with infusing psychology into the elementary or middle school curriculum. In fact, as Charles White, the editor of this volume, has reminded me, the "AP-approach" does not necessarily influence the presence of social science content in what might be referred to as the "mainstream" curriculum. The APA's is an "elitist" approach, since most of the students in high school psychology courses, particularly courses that help students prepare for an AP examination, are college-bound. Thus, the APA's reliance on the AP examination as a bellwether of success may "miss the mark" in terms of large-scale impact on schools, curriculum, or teacher training. However, the "senior elective/AP strategy" is a highly rational choice for the APA, since increasing the number of college-bound students studying psychology may well increase the professional health of the discipline, as measured by more college students taking psychology courses, more students majoring in the subject, and more students going on to graduate study and professional training. Since the high school/elective AP approach is probably helpful in in-

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creasing enrollments in college social science departments, it is certainly an understandable emphasis for the professional association.

Whatever the motivation, the APA today has between two and four full-time staff members supporting various initiatives of TOPPS, Teachers of Psychology in Secondary Schools, an organization begun in 1990, which supports the teacher affiliates of APA. An elected nine-person executive committee of TOPPS meets twice a year in Washington, at APA's expense, to coordinate APA activities specifically geared for high school teachers. APA services for teachers include publications and information resources (lesson plans, listings of relevant journal articles and textbooks, bibliographies); the 12-page PTN newsletter (*Psychology Teacher Network*) that includes in-depth, substantive articles by psychologists ("Diversity and Cultural Competence: Teaching Cultural Competence in an Ethnocentric World"), activities, resources, and news of upcoming APA events; three teachers' workshops for up to 75 teachers offered at central locations around the country (Washington, DC, Chicago, and New Orleans in 1999); eight hours of programs and additional teacher workshops at the APA Annual Meeting; multiple APA-funded monetary award and certificate programs, both for teachers and students; support and encouragement to students to take the AP examination; and the 1999 publication of *National Standards for the Teaching of High School Psychology,* which grew from five years of work by a special APA National Standards Task Force.

The awards program illustrates the teacher-friendly nature of the APA commitment to high school psychology. The TOPPS Scholars Competition awards $1,000 college scholarships to three students whose essays on a topic within psychology are submitted for judging by the TOPPS Executive Committee. For the Excellence in Research award, all semi-finalists in the INTEL science contest whose projects are related to psychology compete for four APA awards, also marked by a monetary gift. The third award is the "Excellence in Psychology Award" offered to teachers to award to their top students. Finally, APA supports the TOPPS Teacher Awards as well as such special awards as the Teaching Award funded by the Retirement Research Foundation, which goes to a teacher who develops a project to increase student awareness of psychological issues related to adult development and aging.

In response to the movement for national standards, APA commissioned a Task Force for the Development of National High School Psychology Standards in 1995 to "develop standards that identify what students in an introductory high school psychology course should learn" (*National Standards...* 1999, 3). Since the AP examination had been instituted in 1990, there was clearly an expansion of high school courses and teachers offering psychology that the Task Force could target for

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guidance. The Task Force members included experienced psychology educators from both high schools and colleges as well as other scientists in the profession. The resulting *National Standards* publication not only sets forth standards to guide curriculum developers and teachers, but offers additional helpful sections to illuminate "Context and History" and "Implementation Issues" (e.g., course scope and sequence and teacher certification); it also includes a section on further resources. The *National Standards* emphasize content, but also pedagogical techniques that encourage active and collaborative learning, research projects, community service, and understanding diversity in behavior.

The *National Standards* publication makes clear why psychologists feel their subject belongs in schools, and the language mirrors ideas put forth by sociologists and anthropologists as well. The introduction states:

> The science of psychology contributes to the solution of society's problems . . . Population experts predict an American population of 50 percent ethnic minority groups by 2060, and therefore teachers must help students develop skills for adapting to a rapidly changing, interdependent world. This world demands an understanding of and sensitivity to diversity, critical thinking, and skills promoting life-long learning. . . . The public has a long history of fascination with the subject matter of psychology and much of popular culture today (e.g., movies, television, books, and magazines) focuses on psychological topics. Psychology courses enjoy exceptional popularity in colleges and high schools; approximately 1.5 million college students take introductory courses each year and another 800,000 are enrolled annually in high school psychology courses. Psychology is one of the two or three most popular majors on college campuses. A recent article in *Money* magazine listed "psychologist" fourth among the most promising careers for the next decade (*National Standards* 1999, 3-14).

Finally, the *National Standards* publication discusses why psychology is so popular and important, sentiments echoed in newsletters published by the AAA and the ASA supporting the need for increased public understanding of their disciplines:

> Most serious problems facing the world today will not be solved solely by technologies generated from the natural sciences . . . The success of psychology in solving behavioral problems will depend, in part, on an educated citizenry versed in the critical-thinking skills that underlie sci-

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> ence . . . Individuals need to understand the multiple causes of behavior and have some knowledge of the methods that can produce behavioral change. There is no better place for these things to begin than in a science-based high school psychology course (*National Standards* 1999, 14).

Case Study Two: Promoting the Teaching of Sociology

The behavioral sciences are no longer on the margin, analyzing society from without. Increasingly, leaders in these professions see themselves as partners in solving some of the growing social problems our nation faces: racism, violence, urban blight, mental illness, immigration, educational failure. Daily headlines underscore the central role that diversity and violence play in our national psyche. As Carla Howery, staff director of the Academic and Professional Affairs Program at the American Sociological Association, explained to me in an interview, "diversity and violence call for negotiation among individuals from different groups with varying values and cultural perspectives. Sociology and anthropology have insights and possible solutions to offer. Technology alone cannot solve our problems" (Howery 2000). Recognition of this fundamental facet of our modern world argues for the central role and critical insights that psychology, sociology, and anthropology offer.

Although a small professional organization, the ASA provides a case study of long-standing, committed dedication on the part of professional sociologists working with their national association to encourage the teaching of their discipline, primarily in colleges but also in high schools through graduate schools. Of the 13,500 members of the ASA, more than 10,000 (or 80 percent) are academics, many teaching undergraduates and community college students; 500 are involved in the ASA Section on Undergraduate Teaching and Education and support improved teaching of sociology in a variety of ways, including serving as authors of articles in the ASA official journal *Teaching Sociology*. The fact that ASA considers *Teaching Sociology* one of its official journals that members can elect to receive as a membership benefit also reflects the ASA commitment to teaching.

Sociologist Keith Roberts from Hanover College dates the genesis of the profession's attention to teaching in the late 1960s, when Hans Mauksch set out to create a teaching movement in sociology: "He got a major grant, mobilized a cadre of people, and created a social movement within the discipline" (Roberts 2001). Mauksch mentored a cadre of followers, Carla Howery among them. According to Roberts, it was

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Howery, working at the ASA since the late 1970s, who carried on Mauksch's vision, working to promote the teaching of sociology.

The strong emphasis on teaching underscores the argument that individuals can make a difference and that commitment and passion can fuel a dedicated life of professional contribution. As Howery explained: "The scholarship of teaching is part of our professional domain. It must be nurtured, understood, and rewarded. We need to celebrate it, and make the valuing of teaching sociology community property within our association" (Howery 2000). Howery's continuing contribution is recognized in a 1996 ASA Resource Materials for Teaching volume developed by Robert N. Gilbert of Palatine High School and Harold Washington College: "Educators of sociology at all levels, elementary, secondary, and college, owe much gratitude to Carla Howery . . . for her incredible energy, tremendous talents, and loving devotion to infusing sociology into the national curriculum" (Gilbert 1996, ii).

In the early 1990s, a K-12 Committee within the ASA worked to promote sociology in schools and to establish nationwide standards for teacher credentials; unfortunately, this committee was since eliminated by the ASA Council. According to Roberts, the first chair of the K-12 Committee, this elimination reflects an ongoing struggle between staff at the National Association, who strongly support initiatives for K-12 education, and the disciplinary leadership of the ASA Council, who have not always supported such advocacy. Nonetheless, the committee did important work during its existence, including an effort to establish an AP Examination in Sociology; Roberts chaired a Task Force that wrote curriculum standards for an AP course in sociology. Many of the members of the K-12 Committee and the Task Force on AP standards have also contributed publications to the ASA Teaching Resource Center.

Much of the ASA's current work to support teaching has been accomplished through the Association's Academic and Professional Affairs Program, which today oversees five components:

- The Teaching and Career Resources Center with its extensive teaching publications series. The teaching materials in the Resource Center are geared to those teaching undergraduates, but 40 percent of high school sociology teachers use college-level textbooks (Friedman and Howery 1994), and, according to Howery, some high school teachers request and use ASA materials. The *Academic, Teaching, and Career Resources Catalog* includes scores of publications on various topics related to teaching: curriculum development, assessment, workshop materials for high school teachers, syllabi sets for every conceivable sociology course, reviews of films and videos,

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etc. Almost 20 years ago, Howery began asking sociologists to serve as editors for collections of syllabi focusing on single topics and encouraged their involvement by producing professional-looking publications. Today these syllabi sets, which sell for between $15 and $20, are continually updated and include such other resources as guidelines, essays from *Teaching Sociology*, and lessons for the classroom. The Resource Center is now self-supporting, with sales upwards of $50,000 annually.

- The Departmental Resources Group. A cadre of 90 specially trained sociologist/consultants visit campuses to conduct departmental reviews and assist with program development.
- The Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Award. The essential role Hans Mauksch played in developing the teaching movement within sociology is recognized through the Hans Mauksch Teaching Award offered by the ASA Section on Undergraduate Education.
- Teaching Workshops/Teaching Resources Group at the ASA Annual Meetings. The members of the Teaching Resources Group organize more than 20 teaching workshops at each year's annual meeting and also present workshops at schools and colleges around the country.
- The Advanced Placement Examination Initiative. ASA attention to high school sociology has focused primarily on an effort, begun at the regional association level and taken up in more recent years at the national level, to institute a sociology AP exam, a means of applying indirect pressure to increase the presence of sociology in high schools. AP courses are generally rigorous; their presence helps students become more aware of a subject before going to college, where they can "test out" of the introductory level courses and be given advanced placement credit towards their college degrees. For a small association like ASA, the AP initiative is thus one of the most efficient ways to work towards high school inclusion.

Another place to look for activity supporting the pre-college teaching of sociology is in the work of the regional associations. According to Keith Roberts, "the North Central Sociological Association has organized workshops for teachers at its annual meetings for more than a dozen years. Some of these [workshop leaders] have done workshops on sociology instruction at state and national meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies. The Georgia Sociological Association

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also had a competition for the best high school sociology lesson plan, and then circulated the dozens of lesson plans and teaching strategies that were submitted" (Roberts 2001).

There is also some evidence of increased national funding for all the behavioral sciences and of collaboration between the social science associations and education associations, such as the American Association of Colleges and Universities (AACU). In my interview with Carla Howery, she told me the U.S. Department of Education had recently granted $1 million to the AACU for "Future Faculty Grants," a program developed jointly with six social science associations. Each of six associations was to receive approximately $120,000 for distribution to individual faculty members competing for these funds (Howery 2000).

How much sociology is actually taught in high schools? No exact numbers are available, but there are indications that the numbers are growing. One indication is the recent growth of high school psychology, since teachers of psychology often also offer sociology as an elective. Howery believes that the increased number of psychology teachers and classes during the past five years in both high schools and colleges reflects a parallel increase in sociology classes. The numbers for high school sociology are not documented by ASA as they are for undergraduate enrollments, but Howery believes the increasing college sociology enrollments as well as those for psychology in high school and college are good indicators of what is probably happening in high school sociology (Howery 2000). To this interviewer, Howery appeared quite optimistic about increased high school enrollments in sociology and the opportunity this presented for reaching ASA's goal of establishing an AP examination in sociology. Not all would agree with Howery's assessment. In California, for example, sociology is no longer a recognized elective, and as psychology has increased, so have geography and economics, perhaps crowding out both sociology and anthropology.

Some research provides data on sociology's status. A 1994 survey (Friedman and Howery 1994) documented 35 states with approved textbook lists for high school sociology courses; of these, 21 states mandated that textbooks come from an approved listing. Haanstad's survey (1997) documented that 34 states approve, at the state level, the presence of sociology as a high school elective.

One final indicator that offerings in the three behavioral sciences may be increasing is the new "Senior High Electives" published by the Center for Learning as part of their Social Studies Series, whose titles primarily focus on American history, world history, geography, economics, and government. The first "Senior High Electives" volume was

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Psychology, published in 1995; *Sociology* appeared in 1997; *Anthropology* in 1998. The Center publishes titles in response to teacher needs, and hence the recent expansion into the behavioral sciences is significant.

Sociology, like psychology, appears to have a limited toehold in the high school curriculum. As new standards are developed, I believe it will be important to advocate both for high school electives in psychology, anthropology, and sociology, and for integration of concepts from the behavioral sciences into the K-12 social studies curriculum. However, as Mary Fortney, social studies coordinator for the Indiana Department of Education, has explained, "having a behavioral strand in our curriculum at all is a tough sell. Many of the people involved [in developing content standards for social studies, grades K-12, for use in schools in Indiana] do not see the importance of these disciplines and would prefer to see the strand integrated into the other subject areas, such as history"(Fortney 2001). Clearly, the standards movement poses an obstacle and a challenge that those interested in supporting the behavioral sciences in schools must take into account.

Case Study Three: The History of Anthropology in Schools

If psychology and sociology (as well as economics and political science) appear to be increasing their visibility in secondary classrooms, anthropologists might ask why their discipline has not become more a part of the pre-college curriculum. Although anthropology is offered as an elective in some public and private high schools, it exists primarily as a "hidden" part of the curriculum, "disguised as social studies so that some teachers are teaching anthropology without knowing it" (Erickson 1992). As Thomas Dynneson concluded:

> Although separate courses in anthropology remain limited, its content is commonly found within the elementary schools and in the textbook series that serve grades one through six. In the secondary school, the content of anthropology is incorporated into a variety of courses, including geography, world history, American history, and biology (Dynneson 1998).

In 1997, a college intern at the American Anthropological Association, Eric Haanstad, used the Internet, Library of Congress documents, and telephone interviews to compile a state-by-state assessment of high school social studies curriculum, as reflected in social studies recommendations made by state social studies specialists. Haanstad also tried

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to assess the presence of anthropology and sociology in the curriculum by looking at which courses were offered as electives in high schools across the country. Haanstad's findings support the conclusions expressed elsewhere in this paper: anthropology appears to be integrated into many other courses in the curriculum (world cultures, sociology, geography), but is rarely taught as a separate subject, in contrast to sociology and psychology, which are common state-recommended electives (Haanstad 1997).

Haanstad's one promising finding was that 15 states did approve offering anthropology electives or had stated goals or requirements in anthropology. South Dakota and Wisconsin, for example, include anthropology in their instructional goals, mentioning the discipline specifically throughout their K-12 curriculum. Approving the option for offering electives does not guarantee their presence locally, however. Many states require global studies, multicultural studies, or world cultures courses, with content and concepts from introductory anthropology, but with no recognition in the curriculum descriptions of anthropology as a discipline. As Haanstad concluded, "The challenge for anthropology is to ensure that its name becomes associated with the concepts it produces" (Haanstad 1997, 6).

Why has anthropology, among the behavioral sciences, consistently shown the weakest presence in schools? Several reasons come to mind. Psychology, economics, and sociology have familiar career paths and practical applications that high school students and teachers can grasp. Anthropology must compete with such traditional subjects as history, which students are required to take, and social sciences like psychology and economics, which students want to study. Over the past 25 years, the other social sciences have made concerted efforts to produce textbooks and teacher-training opportunities as well as to offer support services for pre-college teachers and to lobby for an AP examination. Within anthropology, only the Society for American Archaeology has offered substantial support for teachers. The recent effort on the part of the AAA, growing out of the long-range plan's commitment to supporting more anthropology in the K-12 curriculum, is one hopeful sign for anthropology, but it is unclear exactly how or if the AAA will put any staff time or other resources into working towards increasing the inclusion of anthropology in schools as a separate high school elective, as the other behavioral science associations have done.

Part of the answer for anthropology's exclusion from schools as a separate subject may lie in the history and nature of the anthropology profession, which was, from its beginnings, primarily a research profession. It has been a teaching profession as well, but almost exclusively in colleges and universities, where rewards still come primarily from aca-

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demic research. Unfortunately for the future of the discipline, most of its early pioneers were unable to see the value of "popular anthropology" or of anthropology for school students. Whereas other social sciences had a more "applied" aspect and reached out for public understanding and incorporation into the schools, anthropologists remained aloof, suspicious of those like Margaret Mead who believed passionately that the public could benefit from the field (Selig 1982). The majority of anthropologists stood firmly for rigorous scholarship, which they felt was threatened both by overt popularization and by involvement with schools.

Given this orientation, it is not surprising that, until the 1960s, there was little anthropology teaching in schools. The societal upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s brought some change. Anthropology grew as a discipline at the university level through increased numbers of departments, undergraduate majors, and graduate degrees. For the first time in the profession's history, professional anthropologists became involved with formal programs aimed at pre-college teachers—through federally funded curriculum projects and teacher-training institutes that followed in the wake of Sputnik (Higgins 1993, Rice 1993).

The social and intellectual ferment of the 1960s and 1970s left a clear impact, particularly reflected in pre-college textbooks. In social studies and history classes, the traditional text, once a chronology of political and economic events and elites, now began to include treatment of the everyday lives of ordinary people, women's experiences, contributions of ethnic and minority groups, and cultures previously ignored, such as Pre-Columbian Native American societies or West African cultures ravaged by the slave trade. Much of the data and many of the concepts came, of course, from anthropology, and teachers with anthropology backgrounds found themselves better equipped to deal with the new topics and concerns. Not surprisingly, the evidence shows some slow but marked improvement in the presence of anthropology in precollege curriculum during the 1970s and early 1980s (Dynneson and Coleman 1986).

The history of anthropology in schools has been described and documented in several articles (Dynneson 1975; Selig 1982; Higgins 1993; Rice 1993). Three surveys of precollegiate anthropology, conducted in 1971, 1978, and 1985 by Thomas Dynneson, revealed a small but increasing presence of anthropology in schools (Dynneson and Coleman 1986). Dynneson and Coleman attributed this increasing presence to the curriculum projects of the 1960s, finding that anthropology was reflected both in textbook adoption of many of the ideas from the curriculum projects and in the increased presence of anthropology in the curriculum. According to Dynneson and Coleman, by 1985 anthropol-

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ogy "had emerged as a distinct discipline in contrast to its earlier more limited role as a supportive or hidden aspect of the school curriculum." For example, "in 1985 anthropology was included in the education and training of secondary school teachers in 19 states" (Dynneson and Coleman 1986).

Turning away from the federally funded curriculum projects that were adopted by few schools or teachers (Higgins 1986), the National Science Foundation began to emphasize teacher training. From 1976 to 1983, NSF supported a "Pre-college Teacher Development Program in Science and the Social Sciences" that funded many teacher-training programs in the behavioral sciences. The goals of these programs were threefold: to improve teachers' knowledge of subject matter; to assist teachers in identifying appropriate teaching resources; and to develop and maintain communication between college- and museum-based scientists (and social scientists) and classroom teachers. A committed group of anthropologists served as program directors and subsequently became active within the American Anthropological Association. In a 1986 review of 17 teacher-training programs, Patricia J. Higgins documented the increased emphasis on anthropology in pre-college classrooms that resulted from this federal funding (Higgins 1986).

From these teacher-training programs, new initiatives grew within the AAA, such as three years of symposia and teacher workshops organized at the AAA Annual Meetings by Committee 3 (Teaching of Anthropology) within the Council for Anthropology and Education. These efforts led to the publication of a special double issue of *Practicing Anthropology*, devoted entirely to *Practicing Anthropology in Pre-College Education* (Selig and Higgins 1986). Committee 3, co-chaired by Higgins and Selig and subsequently by Paul Erickson and Patricia Rice, joined forces with the AAA's Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges (SACC) to lobby the AAA to create an official involvement in Pre-college Education, using the American Psychological Association as a model.

As one result of this pressure, an "official" AAA Task Force for the Teaching of Anthropology was formed in 1988, with a mandate "to promote the teaching of anthropology from elementary school through college." In 1990, on behalf of this Task Force, Paul Erickson and colleagues undertook a survey to assess the presence of anthropology in the pre-college curriculum, in teacher training, and in teacher certification (Erickson 1992). Erickson reported that 30 of the 43 state social studies specialists responding to the survey indicated that anthropology could be taught as an elective in high schools in their state. The 1990 survey also revealed that 19 of the 50 U.S. schools of education responding offered a required course in anthropology for preservice teach-

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ers, although seven of these required it only for those training to teach anthropology. In 20 schools of education, anthropology could be taken as an elective. Five schools trained some teachers explicitly to teach anthropology. Of the 30 U.S. state certification agencies responding to the survey, 13 said anthropology was required for some types of teacher certification. The survey documented some progress in the presence of anthropology in the curriculum, in teacher education, and in certification.

The Task Force on Teaching Anthropology organized a series of symposia to help define the core concepts of anthropology and identify effective ways of teaching them. These symposia led to a book of essays, *The Teaching of Anthropology: Problems, Issues, and Decision*, edited by Conrad Kottak, Jane J. White, Richard H. Furlow, and Patricia J. Rice and published by Mayfield Publishing under the auspices of the AAA. In the foreword to this volume, the Executive Director of the AAA expressed the Association's support of the work of the Task Force that "demonstrates convincingly that anthropology has timely, important, and enduring messages for students and the public." (Kottak et. al. 1997, ix). The volume is symbolic as well as substantive, as it was the first comprehensive examination of teaching issues across anthropology since the 1963 publication of *The Teaching of Anthropology* (Mandelbaum et al. 1963). Both volumes focus on teaching topics, issues, and audiences, but the most recent volume also includes K-12 as well as undergraduate teaching and curriculum.

The AAA Task Force on the Teaching of Anthropology dissolved in 1991, but immediately transformed into a Committee on the Teaching of Anthropology as part of the General Anthropology Division. Focusing for many years on undergraduate teaching, it sponsored sessions on teaching at the AAA Annual Meetings and made teaching modules available through the General Anthropology Division. Fortunately, the AAA's new long-range plan developed a vision for anthropology in the year 2026. Ten-year goals, objectives, and tasks set priorities for program and resource development. The objectives and goals identified benchmarks for measuring progress and attaining goals. The vision statement is clear: by 2026 "most students will have been exposed to anthropology in the K-12 curriculum. Every undergraduate will have taken an anthropology course." To carry out the long-range plan, the AAA Executive Committee appointed a new seven-person K-12 Commission to help the AAA reach its ten-year goal. The Commission was asked to define its own objective, which it has done as follows:

> The Anthropology Education Commission will help achieve significant progress toward the integration of anthropological concepts, methods, and issues into Pre-K

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through community college and adult education as one means of increasing public understanding of anthropology.

To meet this objective, the Commission decided to develop a web site for school practitioners to increase their awareness of already-existing programs and activities that help educators integrate anthropology into schools; to develop an award program to recognize educators who integrate anthropology into innovative programs; and to organize Commission-sponsored sessions at the annual AAA meetings. Finally, to provide background context for the Commission's work, Paul Erickson prepared a summary of AAA activities supporting pre K-12 education over the past 25 years, and Ruth Selig researched the history and present status of psychology, sociology, and anthropology in schools as well as the work of their professional associations to support K-12 education,

One indication of grassroots interest in the teaching of anthropology lies in the several anthropology publications targeted for teachers, although their direct impact on the teaching of anthropology in schools is difficult to assess. These publications include the *Teaching Anthropology Newsletter,* edited since 1981 by Paul Erickson from St. Mary's University in Nova Scotia; *SACC Notes: Teaching Anthropology*, distributed for the Society for Anthropology in Community Colleges; *AnthroNotes: A Museum of Natural History Publication for Educators,* published since 1979 by the Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution; *Archaeology and Public Education,* first published in 1990 by the SAA's Public Education Committee and today published electronically; and *General Anthropology,* published for the General Anthropology Division of the AAA since 1994. The mailing lists of these various publications indicate that many of their readers are pre-college teachers both in the United States and Canada.

The success of the Smithsonian Institution's *AnthroNotes,* edited by Alison Brooks, Ann Kaupp, JoAnne Lanouette, and Ruth Selig, also reflects the increasing interest among teachers and other educational professionals in anthropology; the publication grows "by word of mouth" each year and today is distributed to more than 9,000 anthropologists, teachers, and professionals interested in the wider dissemination of anthropology. *AnthroNotes* originated in 1979 as a newsletter for participants in the National Science Foundation-funded George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program.

A book, *Anthropology Explored: The Best of Smithsonian AnthroNotes*, was published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1998 and was immediately chosen as a selection by the Natural Science Book Club, indicating the interest of the general public in anthropological subjects presented in an accessible but scientific manner. The volume is a

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collection of 33 essays introducing the field of anthropology, tracing the emergence of humans from other primates, describing archaeologists' understanding of early and more recent settlements, and exploring the diversity of present and past cultures. Clearly written for a "popular" audience, the book was favorably reviewed in a number of journals, with most reviewers recommending the volume for high school, community college, and undergraduate introductory courses in anthropology as well as the general public.

Anthropology should be an important part of teacher training and the high school curriculum so that students go to college knowing something about the subject. Undergraduate enrollments might well increase as one result of increased high school anthropology. As a matter of course, public understanding of anthropology would increase, as well as awareness of anthropology's potential role in the world today and tomorrow. It is encouraging that the American Anthropological Association's long-range plan reflects new commitment to the public understanding of anthropology and the importance of incorporating the discipline into K-12, community college, and adult education. The new AAA K-12 Commission points to the possibility of wider incorporation of the discipline into the American educational system.

Conclusion

Although some would disagree, I believe the new millennium presents some fairly unique opportunities for continuing dissemination of psychology, sociology, and anthropology into the American educational system, despite the growing momentum for teaching to standards and for nationwide testing of K-12 students. These opportunities grow from new directions within education and within society, as well as from changes within the behavioral sciences and efforts within their professional associations. Within the field of education, national studies and various reform movements over the past 25 years; increased subject matter in the curriculum incorporated from the behavioral sciences, particularly in the elementary and middle school years; and the growing ethnic diversity in American classrooms provide a strong context and imperative for the inclusion of psychological, sociological, and anthropological concepts and subject matter in the pre-college curriculum, as well as the establishment of AP-level course work at the senior high school level. Within the disciplines themselves, growing recognition of the importance of public understanding of the behavioral sciences as well as the necessity of including these subjects in schools in order to increase public understanding and to enhance college enrollments has

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encouraged more social scientists to become involved with issues related to schools.

At the national level, the leadership of the professional associations appears to be increasingly cognizant of the potential impact that heightened public awareness of their subjects might have on the overall health and future of their disciplines. Behavioral scientists believe not only that their subjects broaden students' perspectives and their understanding of the multicultural world around them, but also that these disciplines can make major contributions to solving some of the problems of our day. This is one reason all three professional associations have major initiatives underway to increase public understanding of their disciplines as well as new programs to support K-12 education.

If the past is any lesson, much of the future potential for the behavioral sciences in the U.S. educational system will depend on the larger national context of political will, governmental commitment and funding for education initiatives, and the outcome of the various reform movements and current trends within education. The future is uncertain to be sure, but a strong foundation is in place to support the further growth of the behavioral sciences in schools.

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Bridging the Gap: Political Science, Economics, Behavioral Sciences in K-12 Education

By Sharryl Davis

This book summarizes the proceedings of the second in a pair of conferences called to examine new frontiers in the disciplines of history and the social sciences of geography, political science, economics, and the behavioral sciences. The goals of the twin conferences were:

1. To examine current "frontier" thinking, methodology, and research in history and the individual social science disciplines.

2. To review the current status of the teaching of history and the social science disciplines in K-12 classrooms.

3. To make recommendations for improving the precollege teaching of history and the social sciences based on information from disciplinarians and history/social science educators.

The 1999 conference examined the disciplines of history and geography. Proceedings and conclusions from that conference have been published in *Social Science on the Frontier: New Horizons in History and Geography (*Bednarz and Bednarz 2000).

In the 2000 conference, speakers and participants focused on political science, economics, and the behavioral sciences—psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Each discipline was examined through one paper authored by a social scientist(s) on current thinking and research in the discipline and a companion paper on the status of the teaching of that discipline in K-12 education.

This chapter will summarize conference proceedings by reviewing major conclusions in the papers on political science, economics, and behavioral science; reviewing major findings in the papers on the status of the disciplines in K-12 education; and suggesting implications from the papers for five interest groups:

- Undergraduate and preservice educators.

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- Inservice and professional development providers.
- Curriculum developers.
- Researchers.
- Policy makers and funders.

Current Thinking and Inquiry in Political Science

In his paper, "Politics Is Not a Dirty Word: Helping Students to Appreciate Democracy," John Hibbing describes one focus of inquiry among today's political scientists—the reality that democratic politics is neither cut-and-dried nor win-win. He suggests that democratic "messiness" is created by four realities: people simply don't agree with one another, even when they seem to reach consensus; democracy always demands debate; democracy always demands compromise; and because of the need for debate and compromise, democratic politics will always be messy, slow, and frustrating. Rather than focusing on the traditionally recognized democratic principles of compromise and consensus, political scientists are intrigued by the messiness and unsatisfying nature of democratic politics.

This intrigue has led to research on American citizens' responses to conflict and compromise, with findings showing that citizens are uncomfortable with these democratic realities. Compromise (half a loaf) is not deemed a success by citizens who are conditioned by the popular culture to demand clear-cut wins and losses. Citizens are also put off by the slowness of democratic processes because they are conditioned to believe that decisions should be made quickly and decisively.

Hibbing cites political science research findings that show people with more education are more interested in politics and national affairs—not just voting but contributing money, contacting public officials, and belonging to civic betterment organizations. These findings suggest that education is a positive influence on citizen attitudes toward democracy. Ironically, however, research also indicates that more schooling does not deepen citizens' desire for democracy. Apparently, education can heighten interest, but it does not lead directly to democratic commitment.

Reflecting on the implication of political scientists' current work on precollege education, Hibbing suggests that while civic education succeeds on many fronts, it fails to teach that democratic politics will be messy and unsatisfying. He recommends that civics and government courses in K-12 education focus more on helping students understand and value the ponderous pace, cacophony of sentiments, and compro-

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mise nature of democracy. Not only will this focus present students a more realistic picture of democracy at work, but it may also redirect students' definition of success in the civic arena to include compromise and partial achievement of goals rather than unmitigated victory.

Current Thinking and Inquiry in Economics

In "Fresh Ideas from Economics," Donald Wentworth and Norris Peterson examine the current discipline of economics. They begin by suggesting that the conceptual structure of economics is of less interest to economists today than it was in the past. Instead, economists are more interested in looking at the ways in which human beings choose to use scarce resources to achieve personal and social goals. The authors contend that the real value of economics is in helping us understand the puzzling behavior of humans, especially when they appear not to act in their own self-interest.

In the past, economists used impersonal reasoning. The authors maintain that while economics is still a deductive inquiry, economists are now more interested in exploring the sets of assumptions people apply in their decision making. Although core concepts such as scarcity and incentives are still at the heart of economics, economists are now more interested in recognizing that decisions people make about scarcity and incentives are not all made purely in what would seem to be their self-interest.

Rather than focusing on alternative outcomes, economists are now attending to alternative strategies considered by people when they make decisions. Economists find their decisions are interactive, or strategic, in the sense that what each person chooses to do depends critically on what others choose to do. Scarcity and incentives still influence choices, but economists now view the choice making as an interactive process between two or more participants, each of whom is choosing a strategy. The human behavior of interest to economists is the interaction of all these strategic moves.

A popular tool in college-level economics, according to the authors, is game theory, which has a long tradition in economics but is more valued today in analyzing the interaction of decision makers' strategic moves. Through a series of examples, Wentworth and Peterson demonstrate how game theory reminds us, ". . . that people's actions are purposeful, which is not the same as 'motivated solely by self-interest.' That is, emotions and feelings of pride play a role in the bargaining outcome."

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In their paper, the two economists paint a picture of a discipline more focused on a way of thinking than on a series of concepts; more focused on human behavior than on economic institutions; and more focused on discovering the "extraordinary" in what might at first glance seem ordinary. They note several implications of this discipline focus for K-12 teaching of economics. Economics instruction can be more effective if it involves more than teaching a list of important concepts tied to contrived examples in an attempt to develop insight into human behavior. The authors contend that in effective economics instruction greater emphasis should be placed on "developing an in-depth understanding of scarcity, the influence of incentives, and strategic thinking." They support economics teaching that applies these ideas to simple, straightforward personal examples as well as to more complex, morally difficult, international issues. Such teaching should also include "repeated practice" with deductive thinking to encourage critical thinking skills and creative thinking about policy solutions. In short, Wentworth and Peterson suggest economics instruction that develops in students "an economic way of thinking" that will enable them to realistically understand human behavior in dealing with scarce resources.

Current Thinking and Inquiry in the Behavioral Sciences

In his paper, "Beyond Content: Deep-Structure Objectives for Sociology and Social Science Curricula," Keith Roberts focuses primarily on the discipline of sociology. However, he suggests the paper's key ideas are generic to the other behavioral sciences, especially psychology.

Roberts notes that there are three possibilities for organizing the study of sociology: concepts, perspectives/issues, and cognitive development. These organizational approaches are at the core of current discussions of how to define the curriculum of sociology. Like authors Hibbing and Wentworth/Peterson, Roberts is critical of organizing sociology teaching around core concepts, maintaining that such an organization creates a course of terms and concepts rather than a "coherent and focused exercise in inquiry." Such courses lack integrity. Roberts identifies the approach of overriding perspectives and issues as more promising, but he also finds it a less compelling approach.

The third approach, and the one championed by Roberts, comes out of cognitive development or "developmental epistemology" research. Using this approach, sociology curriculum would be based on students' own intellectual development—starting with where students are intellectually and ending "where we want them to be by the end of the curricu-

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lum." Where we want them to be, according to Roberts, is reflective thinkers who are able to reason with complexity and sophistication.

Roberts posits that the dominant sociological perspective in today's micro-sociology is symbolic interactionism or social constructionism, which he explains as an analysis approach that emphasizes the way human beings make sense of reality and translate that reality into social action. Sociologists who use this mode of analysis are not interested in events themselves but rather in the meaning people make of the events and the way they communicate about the events to others.

Behavioral scientists contend that people develop their intellectual capability to analyze and communicate about events around them in a series of stages. That capability includes analytical skills, logical reasoning, and epistemic sophistication. Most theorists believe that there are plateaus where thinking and perception issues consolidate and become integrated before the next advancement. However, a person may use reasoning from more than one stage in a given situation.

Roberts believes that role-taking, a person's ability to analyze the world from another point of view, is the most important stage. Role-taking allows students of sociology to do deep structure, reflective thinking. "Role-taking appears to be the central prerequisite for understanding other societies, for engaging in reflective thinking about oneself in social context, and for doing critical thinking about one's own society."

Sociology and other behavioral sciences have particular value in helping people not only understand their world but also become active decision makers by moving them through the developmental stages of social analysis. To most effectively use the "power" of the behavioral sciences, however, curriculum must engage students in experiences that help them develop deep structure thinking. Learning the concepts and structures of sociology will not necessarily develop those reflective capabilities.

Looking Across Current Thinking in the Three Disciplines

Although each discipline, as represented by the authors, has its particular and peculiar knowledge base and methods of inquiry, a key commonality is the authors' belief that the "power" of their disciplines resides in their ways of analyzing and interpreting the world. Each discipline's analytical methods are of more interest to current scholars than the concepts or structure of the discipline.

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Each author believes that his discipline's "lens of analysis," when understood and used, will help students better understand their world. Students will be able to analyze their world with more complexity and sophistication. Not only will this benefit young people as students, but will make them better decision makers and more effective agents in their world as adults.

The authors each describe the scholars and researchers in their disciplines as becoming more interested in the less obvious aspects of human behavior. Hibbing talks about the "messiness" of democracy. Wentworth/Peterson call attention to "economic mysteries," the unobvious in what seems on the surface to be obvious behavior. Roberts speaks of the interest in sociology in role-taking, people's ability (or lack of it) to see behavior from other points of view.

Wentworth/Peterson and Roberts describe methodologies academics at the college level use in their respective fields to make their instruction more sophisticated and more "real." In economics a particular technique is game theory. In sociology experiences that help students through stages of developmental epistemology are supported by Roberts. Hibbing looks to research findings about citizen views of democracy and actual civic behaviors to suggest that political science instruction should consist of more than learning concepts.

The views of all the disciplinarians, as presented in their papers, suggest current thinking and research that is focused on analyzing the "real world." Political science is interested in messiness and slowness of democratic processes, not ideal outcomes. Economics is interested in authentic economic situations, not abstract widget hypotheses. Behavioral sciences are interested in complex social interactions, including those in the classroom.

These views of their disciplines lead all the authors to call for precollege instruction in the disciplines to be more experiential and more reality-based. They prefer instruction that leads students to examine real-life situations to find more shades of gray, rather than black/white answers. They recommend courses that focus on developing students' reflective, critical thinking abilities as much, or perhaps more than, learning core concepts and working within the structure of each discipline.

Interestingly, the authors see the goal of studying their disciplines as better equipping people to analyze and act in the world around them. Each discipline's proponent believes it is his discipline's particular "lens of analysis" that builds efficacy. Although their enthusiasm for their discipline's value and their belief in that discipline's power to equip is impressive, it does raise the problem of competing agendas

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among the social sciences, which must compete for time in the pre-college curriculum.

Questions are also raised by the authors' strong calls for their disciplines to be taught as analytical rather than conceptually-based studies. One question concerns the deemphasis of concepts in instruction. Since none of the authors seems to suggest that concepts are not important, the question is whether concepts can be effectively taught as an outgrowth of inquiry into specific real-life examples. Social scientists and social science teachers know the concepts of their disciplines, generally because they learned their subjects in conceptually-based instructional approaches. Is there research to indicate that students who learn the subjects as an inquiry into real-life situations will also, at some point, come to understand important discipline concepts?

A curriculum question raised by the "ways of thinking" perspective the authors advocate is this: if students are taught the "ways of thinking" of each discipline, will they be confused by the various analytical methods? In real-life situations, will students recognize which lens is most appropriate? How can teachers of separate disciplines help students compare and/or correlate the analytical methods of various disciplines? Clearly, adopting new approaches to teaching the disciplines, approaches more compatible with how social scientists today view their disciplines, will require looking at both individual courses and the entire social science/social studies curriculum.

The Disciplines as Taught in K-12 Classrooms

Companion papers to the political science, economics, and behavioral papers explicate the status of each discipline as taught in K-12 education. Richard Niemi provides information on the teaching of civics and government, William Walstad on economics education, and Ruth Selig on the behavioral sciences in the nation's elementary and secondary schools. These papers give us a snapshot of the disciplines as they are now being interpreted to precollege students. Information from those papers, and comments from other conference participants, are summarized in this section.

From the papers, we learn that the most concrete information we have relates to the number of students who study the disciplines in specific courses in middle or high school. Even at that, we do not have as much information as we might wish. In general, the information available tells us that nearly all students are required to take at least a one-semester course in civics or government before they graduate from high school. Economics is taken as a requirement or an elective by about half

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of American students. Behavioral sciences are rarely, if ever, required. However, psychology and sociology are popular electives, with psychology having the higher enrollment. Anthropology is less commonly offered as a specific course. Anecdotal information suggests that students who electively enroll in economics may be more elite—college-bound—students, whereas students in the elective behavioral science courses may be less academically oriented.

None of the authors feel students get enough specific course work in the disciplines. Even the required course in civics/government is often a one-semester experience. Authors question the premise that a one-shot course provides enough experience in a discipline to assure understanding of concepts or the capability to apply the disciplines' analytical approaches. Participants noted the reality of ad hoc curricula, such as anti-drug education and anti-violence education, which usurp time that might formerly have been allotted to social science education.

Less research has been done on the content taught in social sciences courses, even those required courses. However, indications are that the majority of courses are concept/structure based. Most rely on textbooks as a primary tool of instruction, and textbooks are generally built around concepts. Research and anecdotal information suggest that precollege social science courses put much less emphasis on analytical thinking than concept learning. This finding runs counter to the strong recommendations of all the social scientist authors who advocated an emphasis on critical analysis rather than conceptual learning.

A popular solution to the problem of a crowded curriculum has been "infusion." In the case of social sciences, infusion of social science concepts and methods of inquiry has been thought possible, especially into history courses—the most required of all social studies subjects. However, the three authors of the papers and other conference participants view the effectiveness of infusion with skepticism. No research seems to suggest that infusion adequately builds necessary knowledge or ways of thinking.

The question of whether and how to teach current social/political issues in the precollege classroom has long been a concern in social studies/social science education. It is a concern that spotlights a gulf between the beliefs of social science scholars and those of K-12 classroom teachers. In general, scholars believe that K-12 students need to have experience analyzing, discussing, and working with current issues. However, both research and professional experience indicate that K-12 teachers are not eager to take on current issues. Their reluctance stems from several concerns: that issues discussions can generate conflict among students and disrupt classroom control; that issues might elicit

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criticism from parents or community citizens; and that, in some cases, teachers are not adequately prepared or knowledgeable enough to deal with issues—especially controversial issues.

Research and professional observations suggest that K-12 teachers are making little use of the data bases available through technology that can help bring the real world into the classroom. These bases of demographic, social, political, and economic information can provide valuable data for teachers to use in teaching students analytical methods and in making problem analysis more concrete and reality-based. Because such data bases are the "stuff" of social scientists' work in the electronic age, it seems particularly important that K-12 teachers prepare students to work with such information in making decisions, both civic and personal.

The impact of standards and testing on social science teaching is difficult to measure at this time, because many states are just beginning social studies testing. What is clear is that many states' social studies standards are driving conceptually-based courses because the standards and corollary testing are based more on concepts and facts than on analytical thinking or attitudes. This conceptual approach also runs counter to the disciplinarians' beliefs about the value and importance of their disciplines.

A positive finding from research is that teacher preparation in economics content does in fact improve student performance. This was also found true in geography education. In looking at factors that can lead to improved student achievement, policy makers and funders need to take seriously the importance of having preservice teachers include content courses in the social science disciplines as part of their teacher preparation.

Professional organizational support is important in keeping the social sciences on the radar screen of teachers, administrators, and politicians. Certainly economics organizations, such as the National Council on Economic Education, and civic education organizations, such as the Center for Civic Education, have not only helped K-12 teachers, but have also kept their disciplines in the public eye. The behavioral science organizations—the American Psychological Association, the American Sociological Association, and the American Anthropological Association—have traditionally been more focused on college/university education; however, their limited efforts to influence K-12 education have helped maintain behavioral sciences in high school curriculum.

Authors and small group participants strongly agreed that a significant problem in improving education in political science, economics, and the behavioral sciences is the lack of sustained effort—in research

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on effective instructional techniques, in teacher training, in curriculum materials' development, in professional development, and in other aspects of teaching/learning. Seasoned educators can all recall reform/improvement efforts that were conceived and implemented but not kept in place long enough to measure the impact on student performance. If we are truly to improve students' knowledge and competency, we must commit to long-term implementation of reform efforts with good research to tell us whether or how they lead to better social science education for K-12 students.

Implications for Stakeholders in Social Science Education

Following the paper presentations and discussions, conference participants, many themselves recognized experts in social science and social science education, engaged in a series of small work groups. These groups were charged with the task of drawing implications for social science education from the speakers' presentations. The following sections highlight some of the implications and recommendations that came out of those working groups.

General Implications

Reflecting on the messages of both sets of papers, one clearly sees a significant gap between the interests, inquiries, and beliefs of scholars/practitioners in political science, economics, and the behavioral sciences and what is happening in K-12 courses and infused units in the three disciplines. The social scientists are committed to the power of their respective disciplines' "ways of thinking" to explain even the most complex and puzzling human behaviors in civic, economic, and social interactions. This commitment does not seem to be reflected in either the numbers of students studying the disciplines, the frequency with which the disciplines are taught in courses or infused in other subjects, or the way in which the disciplines are taught.

Both social scientists and social science educators strongly believe that if students aren't exposed to current thinking in the disciplines, they are poorly served. Not only will they be inadequately prepared for college courses in the disciplines, but they will also be less able as adult citizens to analyze and participate in the world around them. Social science disciplines are not esoteric—they are practical, useful, need-to-know subjects. Not only do individuals benefit from social science

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learning, but our democracy depends on citizens who understand and can effectively participate in our social institutions.

Authors of the papers and the working group participants speculated on the inadequate state of social science instruction in K-12 classrooms. A critical factor reflected in both the papers and in the discussions is the lack of participation in K-12 education by disciplinarians. This lack of participation stands in stark contrast to the era of the New Social Studies, when outstanding scholars and practitioners were intimately involved in developing and implementing the model social science curricula that came out of that era.

Also decried was the lack of research to help us really understand what is going on in classrooms. Some research into specific instructional methods or attitudinal outcomes is available, but little "broad picture" or longitudinal research has been done to confirm or disprove our informal observations about how social science is taught in elementary and secondary schools. Without concrete knowledge about what is happening in our classrooms, and what the most effective instructional methods are, we are struggling as a profession to set clear directions for precollege teachers.

A particular curricular concern addressed by many participants was the need to clearly define and exemplify the everyday decisions teachers face in trying to balance depth of understanding with breadth of content coverage. Nearly all disciplinarians and instructional experts believe that in-depth understanding is more valuable in the education of students than superficial coverage of multiple topics and concepts. They decry curriculum that is a mile wide and an inch deep.

K-12 teachers do not unanimously share the commitment of social science scholars and teacher educators to in-depth teaching. Although K-12 teachers well understand the inadequacy of superficial treatment, they face the very real responsibility of preparing students for testing that in most cases does not require in-depth knowledge but instead a familiarity with a wide range of discrete information sets. Until, or when, research and powerful demonstration can convince teachers that teaching a few topics in-depth can provide evidence that they are meeting state/district social studies standards and that students' test scores are improving, they are unlikely to forego coverage in favor of depth.

Standards and testing are clearly influencing instruction in K-12 social science, but not uniformly. The national standards for social studies that were issued by the National Council for the Social Studies and the discipline-specific standards for economics by the National Council on Economic Education and the civics/government standards issued by the Center on Civic Education seem not to have been adopted widely by

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states. However, a number of standards documents issued by states do reflect some as much of the thinking in the national documents. In those states that have or are building social studies testing on the standards, the standards documents are influential in teachers' curriculum planning. Without the force of testing, standards documents do not seem to be key influences in what or how teachers teach.

Not surprisingly, most state social studies standards/testing do not reflect the recommendations of the social science scholars or the social studies educators who spoke at this conference. Most standards documents pay little or no attention to methods of disciplinary analysis. Social science ways of thinking are not emphasized or in some cases even acknowledged. Concepts and facts are the stuff of most social studies standards statements. In part this may be because testing thinking and analytical abilities is more difficult than testing conceptual understanding and factual recall. Nevertheless, it appears that the standards movement is widening rather than narrowing the gap between current work in the social science disciplines and instruction in K-12 classrooms.

Finally, social science educators pointed to the lack of a coherent "mission statement" for K-12 social studies. Although all participants acknowledged the various failed attempts at a compelling statement of purpose by various groups over the past decade or more, they agreed that to date the field had been unable to produce a statement that is compelling to the public, particularly politicians and policy makers, and clarifying for K-12 teachers. Without clarity of mission, participants felt it will be impossible to engender the much-needed attention to social studies, especially in the face of a national obsession with literacy and numeracy. Part of the problem is one of outreach—finding ways to make the case for the everyday importance of social science understanding to the public at large. Influencing policy makers and funders is a vital dimension of outreach. At this time, participants deemed it nearly impossible to get the sustained financial support for the social studies, especially the social sciences within the social studies, necessary to effectively impart the power of the social sciences to the students who will be the future decision makers.

Specific Stakeholder Implications

The following sets of implications for specific stakeholders in education grew out of the more general implications drawn by the various papers' authors and by the small group participants. They are offered as starting points for each group of stakeholders to begin refining their responses to the implications raised by the conference. In several cases,

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recommendations have implications for more than one group of stakeholders.

Implications for Undergraduate Arts and Sciences and Preservice Teacher Education

1. Connections between disciplinary scholars/practitioners and K-12 preservice teachers should be established. Connections might be in the form of courses, institutes, or special sessions. Leadership in establishing the connections could be taken by either preservice teacher educators or by disciplinarians, but in the current academic climate, it is more likely that teacher educators will need to take the initiative. Funding will be needed to heighten scholars' interest in working with K-12 education since the current reward system for academics does not include credit for K-12 publications or, in most cases, K-12 service.

2. Actions should be taken by teacher educators to engage disciplinarians in designing undergraduate social science courses and education methods courses that help students meet NCATE teacher standards.

3. More modeling of disciplinary analysis and methodology should be included in undergraduate and teacher preparation courses. Successful modeling of these practices will often necessitate communication between undergraduate instructors or methods teachers and discipline scholars.

4. Teacher preparation courses need more focus on helping preservice students understand how to wed concept-based standards requirements with current methodology used in the social science disciplines.

5. Teacher preparation courses must offer preservice students specific help in dealing with the issue of depth vs coverage when they design social science/social studies courses and/or infused units of study.

Implications for Inservice/Professional Development

1. Connections between K-12 classroom teachers and social science scholars/practitioners need to be established to assure that elementary/secondary students are offered the most recent scholarship in the disciplines. New emphasis on disciplinary ways of thinking and real-world applications of the disciplines would be outcomes of these connections. Ideally, these connections would be funded from school district professional development budgets, but initial models for such connections will probably need to be funded from federal or state sources.

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2. In addition to traditional inservice, a regular delivery system of current social science findings and thinking needs to be established between scholars/practitioners and classroom teachers. Systems that might be considered are Internet communication, distance learning technology, study groups, and coaching models.

3. To confront the reality of teachers who are assigned to teach social science courses for which they have had little or no formal preparation, "Survival Kits" and/or "Survival Inservice" should be developed.

4. Inservice models and professional development materials for practical but neglected topics and concerns should be developed. These include:

a. Strategies for dealing with the issue of depth vs. coverage in specific social science and social studies curricula.

b. Strategies for sorting out the demands of competing curriculum agendas among the social sciences and between social studies/social science and other curricular areas.

c. Strategies for integrating concept/facts-based standards with methods of inquiry and analysis used in the social science disciplines.

d. Instructional models reflecting best practices in social science teaching.

5. Professional development models need to be created to keep social science/social studies teachers engaged with the content and methodology of the disciplines throughout their career cycle.

Implications for Curriculum Development

1. Connections between scholars and practitioners need to be forged to create student and teacher materials that reflect the most current thinking, methodology, and real-world examples being used in the disciplines. Development should include materials for:

a. K-12 classrooms.

b. Preservice methods and undergraduate content courses.

c. Inservice and professional development.

d. Practicing teachers assigned to classes for which they lack formal preparation.

2. Exemplary materials for all social science disciplines and history should be designed to demonstrate how to deal with thorny current issues that have the potential to create discord.

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3. A review of materials from various New Social Studies curriculum projects needs to be undertaken for the purpose of adapting exemplary lessons from the projects for today's students. Participants agreed that the New Social Studies curriculum projects are a rich source of instructional material, but they acknowledged that the materials would need to be adapted by using current disciplinary methodology and incorporating present-day examples.

4. Exemplary materials should be created for K-12 students that meet concept-based content standards while also teaching methods of analysis being used by today's social scientists.

Implications for Research in Social Science Education

1. Better and more extensive survey data on enrollment in specific social science classes throughout the nation is needed to judge how much and what kind of social science instruction American students are getting.

2. Classroom research is needed to clearly understand how social science is taught and the effectiveness of that instruction in elementary social studies classes and in specific social science courses in secondary schools. Specific topics of inquiry should include:

a. Differences in student achievement and attitudes when instructed with a depth approach.

b. Effectiveness of specific instructional methods in the teaching of social sciences.

c. The relative effectiveness of infusing social science content/skills into other courses (such as history) versus stand-alone social science courses.

3. Research on best uses of technology to teach K-12 social sciences, especially as a research tool, should be undertaken.

4. Research on the effectiveness of different delivery systems for preservice and inservice professional development is critical to successful reform in these services.

Implications for Policy and Funding

1. Politicians and funders (both governmental and private) must be informed of the disconnect between new thinking and methodology in the social science disciplines and the ways in which disciplines are taught in K-12 classrooms.

2. A reward or incentive system needs to be created to engage social science scholars and practitioners with K-12 educators.

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3. A regular delivery system should be funded to inform preservice and practicing K-12 teachers about frontier knowledge and methods that need to be incorporated into precollege teaching.

4. A social science united front must be presented to politicians and education leaders in promoting the importance of the social sciences. This "mission statement" needs to be clear, practical, and compelling.

A Call to Action for Those Who Believe in Social Science Education

The Woods Hole Annual Conference of the Social Science Education Consortium began with a very eloquent keynote by Peter Dow, who reflected on both the successes and failures of the New Social Studies era with which he was so intimately involved. In concluding his remarks, Dow laid out several specific challenges. Throughout the conference, those challenges were echoed by other speakers and conference participants. For those who believe in the importance of social science education and care about its place in American children's education, Dow's challenges can be answered as individual commitments as well as collegial efforts.

First, get acquainted and engaged with professionals in the social science community who are not your immediate colleagues. If you are a social science educator, get to know political scientists, economists, behavioral scientists, geographers, and historians. If you are a social scientist or historian, get to know social science education specialists and K-12 social studies teachers. Find your areas of mutual interest. Be collaborative.

Work with your colleagues to develop a statement of purpose, a mission statement, that clearly articulates the goals of social studies/social sciences. Use every opportunity to explain the importance of social studies/social sciences to legislators, administrators, parents, teachers, and students. Avoid the temptation to nitpick about differences in viewpoints in the interest of presenting a compelling case for social studies to people who question its significance, especially in relation to reading and math.

Work with colleagues—both social scientists and educators—to develop exemplary curriculum, lessons, materials, and inservice models. Such models need to exemplify the best of scholarship, pedagogy, and student engagement strategies. They need to focus on promoting sophisticated, complex thinking and analysis. They must demonstrate how to build complex understanding by limiting coverage rather than trying to teach the "whole damn thing."

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Finally, be prepared to support K-12 teachers on a sustained basis. The recent history of education, and certainly social studies education, is replete with examples of reform efforts—new instructional strategies, new materials, new technologies—that, despite their burst onto the education scene, fizzled out before we had time to assess their value. Rather than supporting a fad-a-year mentality, commit to working with K-12 classroom professionals to sustain new reform efforts until legitimate research can say for certain which approaches are most effective.

A sense of urgency permeated the conference, urgency about solving the problems—many of them decades-old problems—in social science education. With the burgeoning body of social science knowledge and analytical methods for dealing with the mounting knowledge, we no longer have the luxury of waiting for people in authority and with funding dollars to discover the importance of social science education. We must make our case for social science education powerfully and effectively. We must close the gap between frontier work in the social science disciplines and K-12 social studies education. And we must get on with the business of preparing students to deal effectively with the challenges of the 21st century.

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Peter Dow's involvement in education has spanned four decades. He currently serves as president of a not-for-profit company, First Hand Learning, Inc., an organization dedicated to supporting the implementation of hands-on, experience-based learning environments in schools. He has developed and co-led a number of educational projects, including Team 2000, a five-year National Science Foundation Local Systemic Change project that is providing professional development in inquiry-based science to 1400 K-8 teachers in the Buffalo Public Schools, and Object Lessons, a natural history-based curriculum program for elementary schools funded by the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. His work in educational innovation includes ten years at Education Development Center, where he served as Director of the Social Studies Curriculum Program, and seven years at the Buffalo Museum of Science, where he founded the Center for Science Education. His publications include *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era*, published in 1991. He holds adjunct appointments in the Anthropology Departments at the State University of New York at Buffalo and at Buffalo State College.

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